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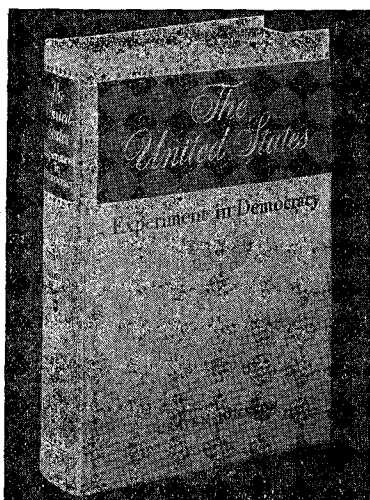
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LVI, No. 2

January, 1951

Faith of a Historian*

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

TO you, fellow members, who have honored me by election to your presidency this year, I feel that I owe a sort of *apologia pro vita mea*, a statement of the beliefs and principles that have guided my teaching and writing during the thirty-eight years since my first article was published in the *American Historical Review*. I have nothing revolutionary or even novel to offer. Very early in my professional career I observed a certain frustration in a historian whom I greatly admired, Henry Adams, who had spent much time and thought searching for a "law of history." So I have cultivated the vast garden of human experience which is history, without troubling myself overmuch about laws, essential first causes, or how it is all coming out. My creed or confession is probably no different from that of the great majority of practicing historians in the Western world.

The late Charles A. Beard, certainly one of the most beloved and by all odds the most provocative of my predecessors, described all writing of history as "an act of faith." With that I agree, although after reading some of his books I suspect that Beard's "act of faith" was a literal translation of the Spanish

*Presidential address read at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association in Chicago on December 29, 1950.

auto-da-fe. Every historian with professional standards speaks or writes what he believes to be true. But he must also have faith in the receptiveness of his audience. If a lecturer, he wishes to be heard; if a writer, to be read. He always hopes for a public beyond that of the long-suffering wife.

This legitimate desire of the historian to interest, to instruct, and to please, is at once a leading motive for his labors, a challenge to present his work in artistic form, and a danger to his professional integrity. It tempts him to deviate from the truth in order to satisfy school committees on whom he depends for "adoptions"; or the prejudices of reviewers and the emotions of the public to whom he looks for circulation. Historians of repute have sold their skill for a mess of royalties; and I hope we do not envy them. Most writers of pseudo-history, however, are gifted amateurs seeking to bolster some pet theory with carefully screened facts, or people trained in journalism or some similar calling in which the story's the thing. If it accords with the facts, fine; if not, so much the worse for the facts.

No person without an inherent loyalty to truth, a high degree of intellectual honesty, and a sense of balance, can be a great or even a good historian. Truth about the past is the essence of history and historical biography, the thing that distinguishes them from every other branch of literature. Everyone agrees to that; but when we come to define truth, dissension starts.

For my part, I stand firm on the oft-quoted sentence of Leopold von Ranke, which we American historians remember when we have forgotten all the rest of our German. "The present investigation," said Ranke in the preface to his first volume, published in 1824, "will simply explain the event exactly as it happened."¹ Ranke was far from being the first to say that. He picked up the phrase, I imagine, from Wilhelm von Humboldt, who, in an address to the Prussian Academy three years earlier, declared the proper function of history to be "the exposition of what has happened."² Some 2200 years earlier, Thucydides wrote, "The absence of romance in my history will, I fear, detract somewhat from its interest. But if he who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter . . . shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then I shall be satisfied."³

¹Preface to 1st ed. (1824) of *Geschichte der Romanischen und Germanischen Völker* (3d ed., Leipzig, 1885), p. vii. The whole sentence in which this appears, is: "*Man hat der Historie das Amt, die Vergangenheit zu richten, die Mitwelt zum Nutzen zukünftiger Jahre zu belehren, beigemessen: so hoher Aemter unterwindet sich gegenwärtiger Versuch nicht: er will blos zeigen, wie es eigentlich gewesen.*" "People have given History the function of judging the past, to serve the world for the instruction of years to come; but nothing beyond the present investigation will be attempted here—it will simply explain the event exactly as it happened."

²Quoted in Benedetto Croce, *History as the Story of Liberty* (Sprigge trans., New York 1941), p. 89.

³*Peloponnesian War* i.22; in part Crawley's translation, in part Jowett's.

One might add quotation to quotation, merely to show that for almost 2500 years, in the Hebraic-Hellenic-Christian civilization that we inherit, truth has been recognized as the essence of history. In other words, the historian must be intellectually honest. Sublimating his own views of what ought to have been or should be, he must apply himself to ascertaining what really happened. Of course his own sense of values will enter into his selection and arrangement of facts. It goes without saying that complete, "scientific" objectivity is unattainable by the historian. His "choice of facts to be recorded, his distribution of emphasis among them, his sense of their significance and relative proportion, must be governed by his philosophy of life."⁴ No historian of my generation has ever pretended otherwise. Certain mid-nineteenth century historians fancied that they could be as objectively scientific about the multitudinous, unrefractory materials of human history as a physiologist should be (but seldom is) in describing muscular reactions. But none of these, from Ranke down, if pressed, would have denied that their philosophy of life influenced, if it did not dictate, their selection, emphasis, and arrangement.

So much has been written in recent years about these limitations on "scientific" objectivity as to obscure the plain, outstanding principle that the historian's basic task is one of presenting a corpus of ascertained fact. That is the hardest thing to get across to students today, especially to those who have been to the so-called progressive schools. Somewhere along the assembly-line of their education, these students have had inserted in them a bolt called "points of view," secured with a nut called "trends," and they imagine that the historian's problem is simply to compare points of view and describe trends. It is not. The fundamental question is, "What actually happened, and why?"⁵

It matters little what "method" the young historian follows, if he acquires the necessary tools of research, a sense of balance, and an overriding urge to get at the truth. Courses on historical methodology are not worth the time that they take up. I shall never give one myself, and I have observed that many of my colleagues who do give such courses refrain from exemplifying their methods by writing anything. It is much more fun to pick to pieces the works of their contemporaries who do write. Historical methodology, as I see it, is a product of common sense applied to circumstances. If the period be one of which few *monumenta* have survived, the historian must use his imagination to bring the disjointed fragments into some logical pattern, as paleontologists reconstruct a prehistoric monster out of a bone or two. If the

⁴ F. M. Cornford, writing of Thucydides, in *The Unwritten Philosophy and Other Essays* (1950), p. 1.

⁵ Laurence L. Howe, "Historical Method and Legal Education," *American Assoc. Univ. Professors Bulletin*, XXVII (1950), 353.

era be a recent one for which there are mountains of facts, the historian may sink a few experimental tunnels and examine what they bring up; or he may laboriously try to pan out the "color" from the dirt, or he may employ a corps of miners to do the preliminary sifting for him. In any case, his judgment and set of values, acting alone or through his assistants, determine not only what is gold and what is dross but the design of the history which he creates out of the metal. The historian decides what is significant, and what is not.

Significant for what, you ask? Significant for understanding that stretch or segment of the past which he is examining. The historian's professional duty is primarily to illuminate the past for his hearers or readers; only secondarily and derivatively should he be concerned with influencing the future. He must frankly look backward, with frequent glances over his shoulder at the world in which he lives, and perhaps a prayer for the future world in which he hopes his descendants may live out their lives in peace. But, you will ask, whence cometh the light with which he illuminates the past? The Light of the World, as reflected by the Church? The red light of dialectical materialism? Or merely the klieg lights of modern publicity? And will not the light vary from age to age? Surely, Governor William Bradford's bayberry candle cast a different light from Governor Thomas Hutchinson's whale-oil lamp; Prescott's student lamp and Parkman's gaslight differ from the 1950 model fluorescent bulbs under which most of us work. No historian can be free, or indeed ought to be free, of the best light that his own day and age affords, because he is writing *of* the past but not *for* the past; he is writing for the public of today and tomorrow, and his contemporaries ask very different questions of historians from those that his grandfather's generation asked.⁶

Intellectual honesty is the quality that the public in free countries always has expected of historians; much more than that it does not expect, nor often get. Any child knows that history can only be a reduced representation of reality, but it must be a true one, not distorted by queer lenses. Commodore Richard W. Bates and another officer at the Naval War College, with part-time assistance of a third, spent two years on an intensive, blow-by-blow study of the battle of Savo Island, which lasted exactly 42 minutes in the graveyard watch on August 9, 1942, and they have just produced a 400-page monograph on it. They have honestly tried to find out exactly what happened and why, sparing nobody, praising few, although shocked to the core at the faulty tactics that their search revealed. Skilled, honest, and laborious though

⁶ Benedetto Croce has often been quoted as writing, "All history is contemporary history." What he did write is: "The practical requirements which underlie every historical judgment give to all history the character of 'contemporary history' because, however remote in time events there recounted may seem to be, the history in reality refers to present needs and present situations wherein those events vibrate." *History as the Story of Liberty*, p. 19.

he was, Commodore Bates, for want of records sunk or lost, for lack of knowledge of what individual sailors, Japanese and American, out of the some ten thousand engaged, thought, felt, and did, could produce only an approximation of what happened on that tragic night. Like the best professional historians he took no short cuts, tested all *a priori* generalizations by ascertainable facts, and hesitated not to scrap his charts and shape a new course whenever new soundings revealed uncharted reefs. His Savo Island monograph is a fine example of intellectual honesty, because it was motivated by an earnest desire to "explain the event exactly as it happened." Gustaaf J. Renier rightly observes that "intellectual honesty is even more important for the historian than for the scientist, for, unlike the scientist, the historian cannot submit his conclusions to the test of experiment. He knows that his work may go unchecked for generations, and that he is therefore put on his honor."⁷

As one aspect of intellectual honesty, the historian should feel a sense of responsibility to his public. The same contingencies of time and space that force a statesman or soldier to make decisions, impel the historian, though with less urgency, to make up his mind. His decisions will not, as the statesman's may, throw his country into a bloody war or a shameful capitulation; they will not, like the soldier's, win or lose a campaign; but they may well enter into the stream of history and vitally affect the future. Would the American Union have been preserved if Bancroft had not so vividly portrayed the struggle to achieve union? Would Napoleon III have made the fatal cast of dice in 1870 if French historians had not glorified Napoleon I? Would the English people have clung to their liberties through good and evil fortune if Hume, Lingard, and Mommsen had gained their ear, instead of Green, Macaulay, and Trevelyan? A mad or obstinate people may not hear the voice of a historian. The Greeks did not listen to Isocrates, who warned them with even greater authority than the Delphic Sybil, that, if they went on as they had gone on, their civilization would be torn asunder and they would be subjected to an alien domination. But the historian who knows, or thinks he knows, an unmistakable lesson of the past, has the right and the duty to point it out, even though it counteract his own beliefs or social theories.

Now some of you are doubtless thinking, Morison is skating on thin ice; if he doesn't look out, he will crash through into the bottomless pit where the spirits of James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard are ready to embrace him as one of theirs! So, without further ado, I shall pay my disrespects to what Robinson called "The New History," and what Beard called "Written History as an Act of Faith."⁸

⁷ *History: Its Purposes and Method* (1949), p. 154.

⁸ His presidential address at Urbana, 1933; printed in *American Historical Review*, XXXIX (January, 1934), 219.

Beard, in his confession of faith, sets up a straw Ranke who pretended to reproduce past "actuality" in toto, and in a syllogism that makes one gasp for breath, goes on to assert that, since no historian can escape his personal limitations or transcend those of space and time, he must so select and arrange the facts of history as to influence the present or future in the direction that *he* considers socially desirable. The historian's value in the long run will "depend upon the length and correctness of his forecast."⁹ Beard's personal guess was that American history was moving forward to a collectivist democracy, which he defined as "a worker's republic" without poverty or luxury, "a beautiful country . . . labor requited and carried on in conditions conducive to virtue."¹⁰ In other words, the Fabian dream that his English friends shared at the turn of the century.

While Beard's end was constant, his means, and so his "frame of reference" changed with the times. His first famous book, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913) was written apparently to break down that excessive respect for the Federal Constitution which he believed to be the main legal block to social justice. The book had an immense success, promptly becoming the Progressives' Bible. Through it, Beard probably contributed more than any other writer, except Henry L. Mencken, to the scornful attitude of intellectuals toward American institutions, that followed World War I. But in course of time Beard came to believe that he had made a mistake; that if the millennial "worker's republic" was to be attained, the isolationists must come in first, like Kerensky before Lenin. This is evident in his *Basic History of the United States* (1944) and transparently clear in *The Enduring Federalist* (1948). In that, his penultimate work, the *Federalist* papers, which, with few exceptions, he had formerly dismissed as rationalizations of the money-grabbers, become one of the greatest political treatises of all time, expressing deep political and moral truths.¹¹ Thus Beard came full circle. His 1913 book was received with greatest acclaim in the camp of Eugene Debs; his 1948 book evoked the wild enthusiasm of the Hearst press and the *Chicago Tribune*.

Throughout this evolution from left to right, Beard always detested war. Hence his writings were slanted to show that the military side of history was insignificant or a mere reflection of economic forces. In his *Rise of American Civilization* (1927) he led a procession of historians who, caught in the disillusion that followed World War I, ignored wars, belittled wars, taught that no war was necessary and no war did any good, even to the victor. All these antiwar historians were sincere, and few of them were doctrinaire pacifists, as their

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹⁰ "The World as I Want It," *Forum*, June, 1934, p. 333.

¹¹ Richard Hofstadter, "Beard and the Constitution: The History of an Idea," *American Quarterly*, II (Fall, 1950).

actions in the last few years prove; nevertheless, their zeal against war did nothing to preserve peace. It only rendered the generation of youth which came to maturity around 1940 spiritually unprepared for the war they had to fight. One may share Beard's detestation for war—most Americans do—but one must admit that few of the things Americans value most, such as independence, liberty, union, or westward expansion, could have been won or secured unless men had been willing to fight for them. Nor may the social historian ignore the part that war and violence have played in American society. Think of the colonial train bands, the expeditions to Cartagena and Louisburg, Indian wars and western desperadoes, crack militia companies doing fancy drills in gaudy uniforms, soldiers' land bounties and veterans' assaults on the United States Treasury, the curious American craving for military titles, and the romantic militarism of Richard Harding Davis. Even Beard's fixed belief that war retarded the worker's millennium was a mere hypothesis; future historians may well find that the two world wars that Beard hated, and the Roosevelt administrations that he despised, did more for collective bargaining and for the worker's well-being and security than any previous half-century of peace.

Of course we historians were not altogether to blame for American spiritual unpreparedness for World War II. Pacifism, disillusion, and a disregard for settled values were rampant in literature, on murals and the screen, and over the air. But historians bear the greater blame, for they are the ones who should have pointed out that war does accomplish something, that war is better than servitude, that war has been an inescapable aspect of the human story. Any American historian could subscribe to the sentiment that Isocrates expressed for his native Athens: "To our forefathers let honor be rendered no less for their hazardous enterprises than for their other good deeds; for not slight, nor few, nor obscure, but many, great and terrible were the battles that they sustained, some for their own land, some for the freedom of others."¹²

I wish that every young historian might read Beard's final book, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War* (1948), as an example of what happens when a historian consciously writes to shape the future instead of to illuminate the past; of a man becoming the victim or the prisoner of his "frame of reference." Without misstating many facts or garbling quotations, as the vulgar distorters of history do, Beard by ingenious arrangement and selection, ruthless rejection of attendant circumstances, and a liberal use of innuendo, compiled a powerful brief for the thesis that Franklin D. Roosevelt was the aggressor against Germany and Japan; that he wanted American entry into the war for his own purposes, planned and plotted for it and maneuvered Japan

¹² *Panegyricus*, 51–52.

into striking Pearl Harbor in order to gain these sordid ends.¹³ If this be the New History, give me the old! But there is nothing new about it; to go back no farther, we can find the same sort of thing, not so well done to be sure, in *Mr. Madison's War* (1812) by John Lowell, and *A View of the Conduct of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the United States* (1797) by James Monroe. Beard used the facts of history—"actualities" he calls them—as Romain Rolland said politicians always use them: "History furnishes to politics all the arguments that it needs, for the chosen cause."¹⁴ I submit that this sort of thing is not history in the accepted, traditional sense of the word; but, at best, a sort of imprecatory preaching.

So, contrary to Beard who urges you to adopt a conscious "frame of reference" or form of Utopia as a basis for the selection and arrangement of facts, I say that every historian should be wary of his preconceptions, and be just as critical of them, skeptical of them, as of the writings of his predecessors.

Skepticism is an important historical tool. It is the starting point of all revision of hitherto accepted history. As Alfred Sidgwick says, "Our skepticism . . . consists of a recognition of the defects of knowledge only in the hope of helping knowledge forward. Among its leading principles are these:—that doubt is always lawful but not always expedient; that human fallibility is only worth remembering for the sake of discovering and correcting actual errors; and that beliefs may be unquestioned without being unquestionable. So far from using the notion that man is fallible as an excuse for despair, or for tendering the advice that nothing should ever be believed, we use it as a justification of the effort to improve our knowledge little by little for ever."¹⁵

Skepticism is properly a two-edged sword in the hands of the historian; and if one edge of the two is keener than the other, it should be turned against oneself. Every honest historian has, time and again, rejected the theory or "frame" with which he started his research, and has built another to suit the facts that he plows up.

"Frame of reference" history¹⁶ is of course the only kind that historians are allowed to write under a dictatorship, but they are not allowed to construct the frame. George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* gives us a glance into the future. In that totalitarian England of his imagination—so horribly like certain regimes of today that it makes one shudder—the government keeps a corps of writers constantly at work writing new histories to replace the old, at every

¹³ My own review of this book is in *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXII (August, 1948), 91; see also Herbert Feis, *The Road to Pearl Harbor: The Coming of the War between the United States and Japan* (Princeton, 1950); Basil Rauch, *Roosevelt: From Munich to Pearl Harbor* (New York, 1950).

¹⁴ Jean Christophe, VII (*Dans la maison*, 26th ed.), 236.

¹⁵ *The Use of Words in Reasoning* (London, 1901), p. 233.

¹⁶ Renier, p. 219, calls it "A Priorism," and has a good succinct statement of its dangers.

new turn of its policy. National figures associated with liberalism or democracy are either smeared, or, like Trotsky under the present Red regime, ignored as though they had never been.

Enough of what I do not believe. The positive task for the honest historian, I do believe, is to illuminate the past. He will inevitably try to answer some of the questions that contemporary society asks of the past, such as the causes of and prevention of war, the working of democracy under different sets of conditions and by various peoples, and the part that personality, climate, and environment play in determining events. But these considerations should be secondary in the historian's mind. After his main object of describing events "simply as they happened," his principal task is to *understand* the motives and objects of individuals and groups, even those that he personally dislikes, and to point out mistakes as well as achievements by persons and movements, even by those that he loves. In a word, he must preserve *balance*.

This principle of balance or proportion—what the French mean by *mesure*—is, I believe, the most valuable quality for a historian, after intellectual honesty. *Mesure* means, for instance, that you should not relate diplomatic history in a vacuum, confining your narrative to the exchange of notes, but try to discover the forces of economics, public opinion, and the like behind the foreign offices. *Mesure* means that in describing the humanitarian movement in the United States a century ago, you must at least refer to similar movements in other countries, which influenced ours. *Mesure* means that you can no longer write political history without considering social forces, or social history without describing political acts and conditions that translate aspirations into deeds, or naval history without touching on concomitant efforts of the ground and air forces. *Mesure* means that you should not write the history of an industry from the management point of view without considering labor; or a history of a labor union without considering the capitalist side. There is no royal road for a young historian to acquire a sense of balance, although a becoming humility toward his fellow workers, and skepticism directed toward himself as toward them, will be of assistance. It may be that a sense of balance and proportion is innate rather than acquired; possibly it may be patiently inculcated by a teacher who has it. That I do not pretend to know. But I do predict that no unbalanced history can live long; that in due time it will be a mere curiosity like those nasty antipapist and anti-Protestant tracts of the seventeenth century, which serve only to illustrate the partisan passions of the times.

Those partisan passions may not be ignored. Since the life of man, at least in his great moments, is emotional, prejudiced, and passionate, the historian should try to express some of the emotion, the prejudice, and the passion

in his prose; and he must, through his imagination, enter to some extent into those feelings in order to portray them with sympathetic warmth or appropriate indignation. He will have no difficulty in doing this if he approach his subject with verve and enthusiasm. Unless it be the dull pedantry of the average doctoral dissertation in history, there is no quality more repugnant to readers than a chilly impartiality.¹⁷ Yet enthusiasm is no excuse for the historian going off balance. He should remind the reader that outcomes were neither inevitable nor foreordained, but subject to a thousand changes and chances. And if he records the passions of past times, he must appease them as well by showing how the "pointers with pride" were too complacent, and the "viewers with alarm" were too nervous; how every winning cause had elements of evil, and every losing cause had some kernel of good. He should be wary of numbers and statistics and not fall into the common fallacy that "mostest" is more important than "fustest," that the big battalions or the big production figures inevitably make the decisions.

A historian owes respect to tradition and to folk memory; for "History is corrected and purified tradition, enlarged and analyzed memory." Rosenstock-Huessy, in an address before this Association in 1934 from which this dictum is quoted,¹⁸ warned our profession that we were losing our hold on the public through wanton and unnecessary flouting of tradition. He meant not only the "debunkers" but the historians who embraced dialectical materialism as an easy explanation of past reality—which saved them a great deal of painful thought. One result was the mass murder of historical characters. Personality ceased to be important if statesmen were puppets of economic and social forces; hence in many works written in the 1920's and 1930's, there are no great men or leading characters, only automata whose speeches, ideas, or aspirations are mentioned merely to give the historian an opportunity to sneer or smear. Dialectical materialism will admit no highmindedness, no virtue, no nobility of character—unless on the part of a revolutionist. It made a great appeal to young scholars, as perhaps was natural during those two woeful decades, 1920–1940; yet none the less unfortunate. For the "debunkers" and dialectical materialists, by robbing the people of their heroes, by insulting their folk-memory of great figures whom they admired, repelled men of good will from written history and turned other men, including many not of good will, to communism.

Dialectical materialists who did not go communist are now rather lonely. The age of "debunking" has passed; even Woodward, who coined the term,

¹⁷ George M. Trevelyan, "Bias in History," *An Autobiography and Other Essays* (London and New York, 1949), p. 78.

¹⁸ "The Predicament of History," *Journal of Philosophy*, XXXII (Feb. 14, 1935), 3.

is dead; a new generation both here and in Europe is sounding and elucidating national and sectional traditions. But much harm was done, and little good. So, although it is less cogent today than fifteen years ago, I wish to repeat Rosenstock-Huessy's warning—historians, deal gently with your people's traditions! If you feel the urge to pull something apart, try your hand on a myth rather than a tradition. Some historical myths, like the Magna Carta one, were very useful in their day. Others, like Jamestown log cabins, Marcus Whitman's journey, or the exclusively Celtic composition of the Notre Dame football team, are harmless. But still others, like the Cavalier myth of Virginia, the forged letters of Washington and Franklin, the myth that the Pilgrim Fathers invented democracy and free enterprise, and the old "perfidious Albion" myth which still has currency, cater to regional *hubris* or racial prejudice, and need deflation.

Too rigid specialization is almost as bad for a historian's mind, and for his ultimate reputation, as too early an indulgence in broad generalization and synthesis. Everyone should, I believe, study something general or national in scope and something special or local; should do research on a remote period and on a contemporary period, and work on more than one type of history. The national field teaches you what to look for in local history; whilst intensive cultivation of grass-roots—or, as in my case, coral reefs and mudflats—teaches you things that you cannot see in the broad national view. Local history as a sideline also serves to integrate a historian with his community, to make him a valued and respected member of it, instead of "just another professor."

Contemporary history offers many pitfalls, and poses more and different problems than eras long past; as I know very well, after jumping from 1492 to 1942. There is an advantage in writing about admirals like Columbus who cannot answer back! Yet, my recent venture into contemporary naval history has been rich in experience and has taught me much. For one thing, I no longer have the reverence for documents that I once had, or the distrust for oral sources that I was once taught. Military documents vary in value as their writers know the truth and try honestly to tell what really happened; one could not get along without them, but one must check them, not only against the enemy's documents but by the oral testimony of participants, provided always it be fresh; for "the strongest memory is weaker than the palest ink."¹⁹

Participation in naval actions has taught me a greater tolerance of the mistakes of naval commanders than I could have entertained if I had fought the war in Washington. One has to experience the noise and confusion of battle to appreciate how difficult it is for the responsible commander to estimate a

¹⁹ Title of an article by Capt. Ralph C. Parker USN in *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXXVI (January, 1950), 59.

fluid situation correctly, and to make the right decision under pressure. And, although Tolstoy exaggerated the role of chance and denied the role of intellect in warfare, both are present. A sailor's opportunity for fame, or even for survival, often depends on a fortunate shot, or on a decision that was wrong in view of what he did know, yet right in view of the factors that he could not grasp. The planner of operations, in modern war, is just as important as the men who execute the plans; military planning calls for intellectual qualities of the highest order.

Fashions in history are constantly changing. Back in the 1930's few publishers would take a source book on American history. Since 1945 a spate of "liberty documents" and the like are competing for adoptions, and for the tedium of required readers. There is now a seller's market in early Americana—colonial history, folklore, early westerns, and the like—and I wish that more of our members would take advantage of it instead of letting journalists and novelists rake in the cash. There is a decided change of attitude toward our past, a friendly, almost affectionate attitude, as contrasted with the cynical, almost hateful one of young intellectuals twenty-five years ago. At that time Kenneth Murdock and I were voices crying in the wilderness against the common notion of the grim Puritan painted by J. Truslow Adams and other popular historians of the day: the steeple-hatted, long-faced Puritan living in a log cabin and planning a witch-hunt or a battue of Quakers as a holiday diversion. That picture has given way to one of the jolly Puritan sitting in a little frame house furnished with early American furniture, silverware and pewter, one arm around a pretty Priscilla and the other reaching for a jug of hard cider. Twenty years ago it was difficult to get any hearing for our denial that English colonists in general and Puritans in particular were hostile to the arts; now we have to discourage students from comparing a tavern-sign portrait of George II to a Romney, or going into ecstasies over the beautiful "functionalism" of a seventeenth century Connecticut hog-yoke.

Fifty years ago, it was difficult to find any general history of the United States that did not present the Federalist-Whig-Republican point of view, or express a very dim view of all Democratic leaders except Cleveland. This fashion has completely changed; it would be equally difficult today to find a good general history of the United States that did not follow the Jefferson-Jackson-F. D. Roosevelt line. That, I confess, is my own approach. I was converted to it, forty years ago, by doing my first piece of intensive research on New England Federalism, and discovering that the "wise and good and rich," whom Fisher Ames thought should rule the nation, were stupid, narrow-minded, and local in their outlook compared with the Republicans. I still believe that the Jeffersonian "line" is the one that the main stream of

United States "actuality" has followed, just as British "actuality" is best explained by historians who write in the Whig-Liberal-Labour tradition. But I also believe that there has been altogether too much of it, and that the present situation is unbalanced and unhealthy, tending to create a sort of neoliberal stereotype.²⁰ We need a United States history written from a sanely conservative point of view, like Keith Feiling's recent *History of England*. But we do not want nostalgic histories that merely invoke an impossible return to the policies and conditions of some past era. For, as every classicist knows, the Stoic doctrine of recurrence impelled the political scientists and statesmen of Rome "to seek solutions for the ever more complex problems of Roman civilization by abortive effort to rejuvenate the virtues, and to reenact the policies, of the past."²¹ Frustration and failure will attend any American historian who tries to do that; but fame and success await one who will make a fresh distillation of our entire history, with the conservative tradition acting as the leaven.

Social history exhibits a similar uninventiveness, for it seems very difficult for social historians to describe anything but improvements, as they move on from decade to decade. But the main ill of American social historians is indigestion. You cannot include everything from wonder-working providences to badly working plumbing; better leave the one to Edward Johnson and the other to the Quennells. Social history puts a greater strain on literary expression and on the sense of balance than any other kind. Hitherto the novelists have been very much better at writing it than the historians. We need to improve our human perception as well as our literary style if we expect to be the teachers of social history that, for instance, Marcel Proust was and Conrad Richter is. Historians notably lack the talent at description which novelists have developed to a high degree; Prescott had it, of course, and Parkman; but you can count on the fingers of one hand the American historians now writing who can describe a scene, an event, or a natural setting in such a way that the reader can see it. (The reason is largely that the writer cannot see it himself; he sits in a library and writes instead of going about by whatever means of transportation is available, and finding out for himself what historic sites look like today.) Then, too, some social historians forget that history is a *story* that moves; they divorce their subject altogether from the main stream of political history, giving it no context and no time. In the Western countries, political and constitutional history must always be the skeleton on which any other kind of history is hung; and if you are concerned over the decay of liberty, you should be also concerned lest political and constitutional history

²⁰ Peter Viereck, "Babbitt Revisited," *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, June 24, 1950.

²¹ Reinhold Niebuhr, *Faith and History* (New York, 1949), p. 21.

fall into desuetude. The American historian of architecture, education, labor, medicine, or any other social subject, should have a sense of chronology and not apply to 1850 the standards of 1950, or ignore the context and attendant circumstances of ideas, principles, and events that he may consider abominable.

Start → Although the present conception of history as the sum total of all aspects of human activity has vastly complicated and increased the burdens of the general historian, he must accept the challenge. He should welcome, and must do his best to read and grasp, the flood of monographs that the presses are issuing on social-history subjects. He must do his best to apply to history the principles that the sociologists are painfully (and usually in horrible English) working out in human relations. He must admit that there is a vast amount to do in the social history of any Western country, with the whole of Asia opening up new fields to Western historians.

Although the magnitude of work before you younger historians, and the conditions under which you may have to perform it, are appalling, you are nevertheless to be envied. For the world has revolved to one of those "seasons, in human affairs," in the words of William Ellery Channing ~~120~~ ¹⁴⁰ years ago, "of inward and outward revolution, when new depths seem to be broken up in the soul, when new wants are unfolded in multitudes, and a new and undefined good is thirsted for."²² The times are your challenge; what will be your response? The historical profession will have little use for timid pedants, whose ambition goes no farther than to get a firm footing on one of the lower steps of the academic escalator, proceeding painlessly from one professorial grade to another until overtaken by death and oblivion. It wants men and women of courage as well as of honesty and balance. A historical career can be a great adventure, and not in ideas alone; witness the lives of Bolton and Trevelyan, men who write history that sings to the heart while it informs the understanding. A historian's life may be filled with conflict, not only the relatively clean fighting of armed forces but the dirty fighting of political campaigns and congressional investigations. We want more bold and positive characters to enter the profession.

Finally, a bit of advice nineteen centuries old, which St. Paul offered to all the faithful of Ephesus, but which seems particularly applicable to historians: "Henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart." Seek guidance from the Author of all lights, of all history, "and be renewed in the spirit of your mind."²³ Or, as St. Thomas Aquinas put it, in his noble

²² "Essay on the Union [1829]," in *Works* (1886 ed.), p. 641.

²³ Ephesians iv:17-18, 23.

prayer for a scholar, "Grant me sharpness in understanding, sagacity in interpretation, facility in learning, and abundant grace in expression."

With honesty of purpose, balance, a respect for tradition, courage, and, above all, a philosophy of life, any young person who embraces the historical profession will find it rich in rewards and durable in satisfaction.

Such is the substance of my faith; and if I were to sum up my credo in a single word, it would be that proud motto of Fustel de Coulanges, *Quaero*—I seek to learn.

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Austria and the Problem of Reform in the German Confederation, 1851–1863

ENNO E. KRAEHE

IN the great struggle for Germany that emerged from the revolutions of 1848, the central issue was the German Confederation or *Deutscher Bund*. All factions in Germany—to say nothing of all Europe—had a vital interest in the fate of this unloved institution. For the national-liberals the problem was to transform the Confederation into a liberal and democratic *Bundesstaat*. For Austria, the problem was to strengthen the federal authority as a weapon against Prussia and as a sop to the national-liberal movement, and if possible to create a *Mitteleuropa* by extending the frontiers of the Confederation to embrace all the provinces of the Habsburg Empire. For Prussia, the other great power in Germany, the problem was, at the least, to safeguard her sovereignty by vetoing all plans designed to reinforce the Confederation, and, at the most, to reorganize Germany in a manner that would give her equality with Austria, if not hegemony in a Germany united by the exclusion of Austria. There remained the princes of the middle and small states that belonged to the *Bund*. They alone were satisfied with the *status quo*; yet even their satisfaction was tempered by the fear that so unpopular an institution could not long withstand the revisionist demands of Prussia or the national-liberal movement. It was not impossible that these foes of the Confederation would join forces, the one contributing an army, the other mass enthusiasm, to mediatize the middle states and drive Austria out of the *Bund*. It was this danger that joined Austria and the middle states in an effort to preserve the Confederation through timely reform.

The more loudly the potential revolutionists clamored for a powerful national state and the more openly Prussia toyed with a *kleindeutsch* solution of the German problem, the more vigorously did the friends of the Confederation strive to salvage its prestige. At first, the reform movement was led by Prince Schwarzenberg of Austria. Although he had failed at the Dresden conference of 1851 to bring the eastern provinces of the Habsburgs into the Confederation and had had to be content with a restoration of the old *Bund*, he endeavored by other means to strengthen the federal authority. By insisting on the legality of majority decisions in broad areas of legislation and by endeavoring to transfer to the *Bund* the prerogatives of the Prussian-dominated Zollverein, he hoped to keep both revolution and the Prussian state well

in hand. After his death in 1852 the initiative in federal reform passed to the middle states. For the next nine years Count Beust of Saxony, Ludwig von der Pfordten of Bavaria, Hügel of Württemberg, and Baron von Dalwigk of Hesse-Darmstadt carried on the struggle to make the existing Confederation the basis for a strong Germany. In addition to a broad program of general legislation as envisaged by Schwarzenberg, they made repeated efforts to establish a federal supreme court, a more powerful executive organ, and a German assembly of delegates from all the state diets to act as a lower house to the existing Federal Diet, the central organ of the Confederation. They also made frequent attempts to form a separate union of middle states, a "Third Germany," which could act in German affairs on more nearly equal terms with Prussia and Austria.¹ Although they enjoyed some success with legislative projects, their program as a whole made little headway, for most important business demanded unanimous consent of the states. To be sure, the initial steps in reform were often taken successfully, for preliminary questions, such as whether a measure was desirable and whether it should be studied by a technical commission, could be decided by simple majorities. But all too frequently, when it came to final action, the veto wielded by the Prussian envoy at Frankfort blocked the way.²

If Prussia was the major obstacle to constructive reform of the *Bund*, Austria was scarcely less a problem. In spite of her obvious interest in presiding over a more vigorous German government, Austria's attitude after 1852 was, if not hostile, at best passive toward federal reform. The explanation of this drastic departure from the *Mittleuropa* concept is somewhat involved but it is vital to an understanding of the problems confronting the *Bund*. Schwarzenberg's untimely death is part of the answer. Not only did the passing of Austria's *Realpolitiker* deprive the empire of a skillful and resolute diplomat but it also left high policy in the hands of men representing contradictory traditions and views about the German problem. While Count Buol and Prokesch-Osten, as envoys to Frankfort, continued the Schwarzenberg program of expanding the competence of the *Bund* and fettering Prussia by majority resolutions, Rechberg, who returned to Frankfort in 1855 as Austrian representative, hoped to revive the Metternichean tradition of Austro-

¹ On the middle-state reform policies see O. Brandt, "Mittelstaatliche Politik am deutschen Bund nach der Revolution von 1848," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, II (1929); Martin Daerr, "Beust und der Bundesreformplan der deutschen Mittelstaaten im Jahre 1859," *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, LII (1931); Siegmund Meiboom, *Studien zur deutschen Politik Bayerns in den Jahren 1851-59* (Munich, 1931); and Walter Fuchs, *Die deutschen Mittelstaaten und die Bundesreform 1853-1860* (Berlin, 1934).

² The constitutional problems of the *Bund* are dealt with in detail in the author's doctoral dissertation, "A History of the German Confederation, 1850-1866" (on deposit in the library of the University of Minnesota, 1948). Cf. Heinrich von Srbik, *Deutsche Einheit*, III (Munich, 1942), 409.

Prussian co-operation in German affairs. Baron von Bruck, the Austrian finance minister, had still another policy. With his visionary gaze fastened first upon an economic *Mitteleuropa*, he considered the political rivalry of Germany's two great powers a secondary issue. He endeavored to reach his goal not by using the Confederation to sabotage the Zollverein but by expanding the Austro-Zollverein trade treaty of 1853 so as to make Austria a member of the Zollverein itself.³

The "if-he-had-only-lived" argument is not, however, the whole story of Austria's waning efforts toward reform after Schwarzenberg's death. It was Schwarzenberg's own creation, the unitary state in the Habsburg monarchy, that more than anything else tied the hands of Austria's federal envoys. Implemented as it was by the notorious "Bach system" of Germanization and bureaucratic rule, the unitary state was a government of centralism and absolutism; and both these ideas were inimical to a firm German policy. Because of centralism, Austria's administrators made virtually no distinction between German and non-German lands. A decree laid down in Vienna had equal force in all the Habsburg territories whether they were in the Confederation or not.⁴ Hence, even though the project of 1851 to include the whole empire in the *Bund* had failed, Austria had to act at Frankfurt as if her total domain did belong there. She could support federal legislative projects, which encountered difficulty enough among the various German states of the Confederation, only so long as they were in harmony with the interests of all her lands, non-German as well as German. Such a policy, though by no means impossible, was difficult to follow, for it always involved, as far as Austria was concerned, a decision either to disrupt the unity of her internal legislation or to step up the tempo of the "Germanizing" process so hated in the Slavic and Magyar areas of the empire. With disconcerting frequency the Austrian stand on particular legislative projects was either total disapproval or a half-hearted decision to adopt only those provisions which did not clash with her own laws.⁵

³ William O. Henderson, *The Zollverein* (Cambridge, England, 1939), p. 203.

⁴ The question of separate decrees for different parts of the empire was not so much one of constitutional law as of policy. A case in point is the extradition law passed by the Federal Diet in January, 1854. In April, 1854, this law was promulgated by the Austrian government for the provinces belonging to the *Bund* only. Yet, the violence that this procedure did to the *Einheitsstaat* was such that a year later the extradition law was extended to the rest of the empire by means of separate treaties with the states of the Confederation. *Reichsgesetzblatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich*, 1854, No. 76, and 1855, No. 124. In fact, so closely integrated were all the territories of the monarchy that it is possible to discuss the unitary state of 1851-1860 with scarcely a comment on the fact that some provinces also belonged to the *Bund*. This is the case for example in the monumental work of Joseph Redlich, *Das österreichische Staats- und Reichsproblem* (Leipzig, 1920-26), I, *passim*.

⁵ The problem was understood most clearly by Bismarck and Rudolf von Biegeleben, chief of the German section of the Austrian foreign office. Cf. Bismarck to Manteuffel, Nov. 26, 1855, in Bismarck, *Gesammelte Werke* (Berlin, 1924-), II, No. 95; and a memorandum of Biegeleben in H. von Srbik, ed., *Quellen zur deutschen Politik Oesterreichs* (Oldenburg and Berlin, 1935),

If centralism militated against general legislation in the Confederation, absolutism thwarted Austrian co-operation in institutional reform. Neither an assembly of delegates from the *Landtage* nor a federal court that would decide disputes between governments and their diets was compatible with the imperial structure. Austria had no organ to represent either the estates or the people at large. A federal court, if established in the *Bund*, would only have turned a spotlight on her own absolutism and perhaps have compelled her to resurrect some sort of representative assembly. Indeed, a court, in reviewing certain aspects of federal law, would have had often to deal with Article XIII of the Federal Act of 1815, which guaranteed an assembly of the estates for each member of the Confederation. Under these circumstances, the grumbling of the middle states at Austria's defiance of federal law—grumbling that was heard often enough even without a court—would have grown and combined with internal discontent to produce such pressure that the government could not long have delayed the creation of an imperial diet. Bismarck's understanding of this point enabled him to call Count Buol's bluff in 1857 when the latter feigned interest in a court plan submitted by Count Beust.⁶

The difficulties in an assembly of delegates from the *Landtage* as a lower house for the Federal Diet were even more obvious. If such an organ had been established, Austria could not have sent a single representative, and her voice in the Confederation would have been diminished by the extent to which the Federal Diet relinquished power to that assembly. To have permitted the formation of an assembly of delegates without her would have immeasurably strengthened Prussia, for the Hohenzollern state would then have enjoyed a preponderance of voting power unchecked by an Austrian counterweight. The only alternatives for Austria would have been to establish an imperial diet, which would have put an end to absolutism, or at least a diet for her German provinces, in which case the unitary state would have had to be abandoned.⁷

Thus, the cost to the Austrian government of obstinately clinging to absolutism and the unitary state was not only the alienation of many of its own subjects but also the partial paralysis of the German Confederation, its main instrument of a successful German policy.⁸ It was, in fact, a cost that

I, No. 110. The problem is also discussed in Carl von Kaltenborn, *Geschichte der deutschen Bundesverhältnisse und Einheitsbestrebungen von 1806 bis 1856* (Berlin, 1857), II, 398.

⁶ Fuchs, pp. 115–18; and Bismarck's report of July 1, 1857, in Heinrich von Poschinger, ed., *Preussen im Bundestag, 1851 bis 1859* (Leipzig, 1882–84), III, No. 69.

⁷ Cf. the report of the American consul general in Frankfurt, Oct. 10, 1855, in Frankfurt on Main, Consular Reports (in National Archives, Washington, D. C.), II, No. 62.

⁸ Professor Robert C. Binkley in his *Realism and Nationalism 1852–1871* (New York, 1935), p. 228, does indeed say that the problem of central Europe was to "tighten up the *Bund*, loosen up the Hapsburg Monarchy." In developing this theme, however, he fails to make clear that the latter was a necessary prerequisite to the former.

could be borne only so long as the prestige of Olmütz lingered in the air, so long as the international position of the monarchy remained firm, and the force of Russian arms could be counted on, as in 1849, to uphold the old order.

These props of centralized absolutism, far from remaining firm, steadily deteriorated. In 1854-56, the Crimean War gained Austria the undying hatred of Russia without building up good will among the Western powers. In 1858, one of Bruck's greatest efforts to secure Austrian membership in the Zollverein failed; and in the same year, the "new era" in Prussia began to swing popular support to the Hohenzollern cause. In 1859, the military disasters of Magenta and Solferino and the loss of Lombardy provoked new demands for reforming the Confederation and augmented the danger that *kleindeutsch* liberalism would ally with the Prussian state to drive Austria out of the *Bund*.

In the face of these dangers, Austria's friends demanded an end to the faintness of Habsburg policies in German affairs. The *grossdeutsch* party still looked to her, as the main bulwark against Prussian domination, to preserve German unity against those who sought to bifurcate the national group. Publicists and agitators supported the efforts of the middle states to enlist Austrian support in the manifold schemes for revitalizing the *Bund*. Konstantin Franz, decrying the efforts to expel Austria from the *Bund* at a time when all German strength was needed against Napoleon III, urged the men in Vienna to take the initiative in reform. Julius Froebel, erstwhile Forty-eighter and recently returned from a long exile in America, urged that reform of the Confederation coincide with a vigorous propaganda campaign in England to shore up the Habsburgs' international position.⁹ And in the columns of the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, Albert Schäffle and Baron von Cotta spread the gospel that Austria, as president of the Confederation, would take the initiative in an enlarged program of general legislation.¹⁰ In Vienna too there were voices crying for reform. Anton von Schmerling saw that liberalizing the monarchy was necessary to counteract the "new era" in Prussia and win friends for Austria in liberal Germany; and in the foreign office, Rudolf von Biegeleben, chief of the section of German affairs, patiently explained, as he had ever since 1850, that administratively the Habsburg German provinces must be separated from the eastern half of the monarchy so that they could participate more intimately in the affairs of the *Bund*.¹¹

Yet, even these appeals might have gone unheeded had it not been that

⁹ Report of Austria's federal envoy, Baron von Kübeck, July 6, 1860, *Srbik, Quellen*, I, No. 209.

¹⁰ Rechberg to Cotta, Sept. 29, 1859, *ibid.*, I, Nos. 19 and 21. On Schäffle see his autobiography, *Aus meinem Leben* (Berlin, 1905). For a general picture of the political tracts of the times, Hans Rosenberg, *Die nationalpolitische Publizistik Deutschlands vom Eintritt der neuen Ära in Preussen bis zum Ausbruch des deutschen Krieges* (Munich, 1935) is indispensable.

¹¹ Cf. his memorandum of March, 1860, in *Srbik, Quellen*, I, No. 110.

mounting discontent within the empire finally forced the abandonment of centralized absolutism. Foes of the Bach system, which placed most political power in the hands of the imperial bureaucracy, became more and more active. The landed aristocracy wanted local self-government returned to the provinces; the middle class thirsted for a liberal constitution; and the Hungarians, most restive of all, demanded autonomy within the empire and restoration of the constitution of 1848. Consequently, with the bureaucracy completely discredited as a result of the war in Italy, internal reorganization of the monarchy could no longer be delayed. In March, 1860, the council of ministers was broadened to become an "assembly of notables." A few months later, the October Diploma not only restored the *Landtage* of the historic provinces and endowed them with many autonomous powers but also created an imperial diet, consisting of representatives from the provincial assemblies. In 1861, another edict, the February Patent, extended representation in the *Landtage* to the villages, towns, and bourgeois chambers of commerce.¹²

The fact that the Diploma and Patent were advanced primarily as solutions to the internal problems of the monarchy should not obscure their equally vital importance for Germany. The creation of representative institutions raised Austria's prestige in Germany at the very time that the Prussian ministry was alienating much liberal sympathy by its high-handed treatment of the Prussian diet over the army reform bill. But even more significantly, the new imperial structure expedited Austrian participation in federal legislation and made it possible for Vienna to support institutional reforms calling for a federal court or an assembly of delegates. Not only did the monarchy now possess an imperial diet or *Reichsrat*, which fulfilled the provisions of Article XIII of the Federal Act and which might send delegates to a representative assembly in Frankfort, but the *Reichsrat* itself was so constituted that in the legislative field the interests of the western (primarily German) and eastern (primarily Magyar) areas of the empire could, in large measure, be dealt with separately. The distinction between the *Gesamtreichsrat*, which represented the entire empire, and the *engerer Reichsrat*, which was competent to approve legislation only for the territories west of the Leitha River, greatly relaxed the rigid centralism that had for so long prevented full co-operation between the Austrian Germans and other members of the Confederation. The first fruit of this increased *grossdeutsch* solidarity was plucked in October, 1862, when the *engerer Reichsrat* ratified, for the western half of the monarchy only, the monumental German commercial code, which had been sponsored and adopted by the Diet of the Confederation.¹³

¹² Redlich, I, 572 ff. and 769 ff.; and Heinrich Friedjung, *Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland, 1859-1866* (Stuttgart, 1897), I, chap. 2.

¹³ To be sure, imperial reorganization, motivated as it was more by internal considerations

Meanwhile, it was growing more and more apparent that the imperial reforms had not come any too soon. All Germany was in ferment, seeking a solution to the problems of the day; and every sign seemed to point toward Prussian domination of the Fatherland. The *Nationalverein*, founded in 1859 to advance the cause of Prussian leadership, was swelling its ranks with new recruits, and the Prussian government itself was speaking the language of *Kleindeutschtum*. Count von Usedom, the Prussian envoy to the Federal Diet, was demanding military reforms that would give Prussia complete control of federal troops north of the Main River.¹⁴ In April, 1861, Prussia launched a campaign to strengthen her grip on the Zollverein and, by a policy of low tariffs, forever put an end to the efforts of protectionist Austria to join that organization.¹⁵ In the summer of 1861, a determined foe of Austria, Count von Bernstorff, succeeded the vacillating von Schleinitz in the foreign office at Berlin. In August, Usedom denounced federal efforts to create a civil and criminal code for Germany, contending that federal legislation in the *Bund* encroached upon the rights of the state diets and insisting upon unanimous consent, not only on final action but on preliminary questions as well.¹⁶ In November, a federal reform project emanating from Baden came out openly for Prussian leadership in Germany. And in December, Bernstorff, in a note to Count Beust of Saxony, revived the dreaded Prussian Union of 1849 as a basis for federal reform. A counterattack by Austria and the middle states could be delayed no more.

than by concern for the German problem, did not go as far as it might have in unbinding the hands of Austria's envoy in the Federal Diet at Frankfurt. Actually, the broad federalism provided for in the October Diploma was considerably watered down by the centralizing proclivities of Schmerling which found expression in the February Patent. The result was that there were still many measures that could be enacted only for the whole empire. Moreover, the *engerer Reichsrat*, though excluding most non-Germans in the monarchy, still harbored the representatives of Venetia, Trieste, Bohemia, and Moravia, and thus did not set the Germans entirely apart. For these reasons Srbik, *Deutsche Einheit*, III, 414 and 421, takes a dim view of the ameliorative effects of imperial reform on Austria's German policy. These objections seem overdrawn. The *engerer Reichsrat*, if not purely German in composition, at least had a large German majority. Moreover, the non-German minority did not include Magyars and was thereby separated from the only group that could put up serious resistance to the Germanizing process. Finally, despite the considerable powers vested in the *Gesamtreichsrat*, the organ of centralism, the *engerer Reichsrat* was by no means impotent. The commercial code, is a good indication of what could be done in the way of *gesamideutsch* legislation under the new arrangements. The issue of the commercial code in Austria may be traced in the *Stenographische Protokolle des Hauses der Abgeordneten des Reichsrates* (Vienna, 1861 ff.).

¹⁴ On the question of military reform in the *Bund* see Theodor Griebank and Fritz Hellwag, *Württemberg und die deutsche Politik in den Jahren 1859-1866* (Stuttgart, 1934), pp. 73-124; and P. Bailieu, "Der Prinzregent und die Reform der deutschen Kriegsverfassung," *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXVIII (1897), 385 ff.

¹⁵ Prussian plans were based on a projected free-trade treaty with France, which was violently opposed by the middle states. Prussia hoped that by threatening to dissolve the Zollverein, she could force the middle states not only to ratify the lower duties but also to surrender their *liberum veto*, which checked Prussia in the Zollverein as the Prussian veto checked Austria in the *Bund*. Cf. Henderson, pp. 273-85.

¹⁶ *Protokolle der deutschen Bundesversammlung*, Aug. 12, 1861, No. 248, pp. 666 f.

When Rechberg, the Austrian foreign minister, and Rudolph von Biegeleben, the expert on German affairs, finally threw their weight actively into the *grossdeutsch* reform movement, they had at their disposal a plan drafted by Baron von Dalwigk, minister-president of Hesse-Darmstadt.¹⁷ In criticizing a complex proposal submitted by Beust in the fall of 1861, Dalwigk had evolved a much simpler approach, one that limited reform efforts to a federal court, a presidency alternating between Austria and Prussia, an assembly of delegates from the *Landtage*, the advancement of general legislation, and an executive committee based on the idea of trialism. Of these, the most important was the assembly of delegates. Dalwigk saw a way to establish it not only on the basis of the existing constitution but by majority decision as well. He pointed out that in the past such an assembly had failed to materialize because it had been regarded as either an organic institution or a general welfare measure, both of which required unanimity. He proposed, therefore, to establish it as a *means* to a general welfare ordinance, in which case its creation would be merely a preliminary question amenable to a majority vote. In the same way that technical commissions had often been established to assist with general legislation, an assembly of delegates could be convoked *ad hoc* for the specific purpose of reviewing some general welfare measure; and once the body was established Dalwigk hoped that the weight of public opinion could be enlisted to force its continuation as an organic institution. In short, the temporary summoning of an assembly of delegates would serve as a wedge to compel Prussia to accept that body as a permanent lower house for the *Bund*.

The Dalwigk plan seemed to provide a sound basis for a federalistic solution of the Austro-German problem, as opposed to the drastic settlement by dualism that both Prussia and Hungary were seeking, the one in Germany, the other in the Habsburg monarchy. For one thing, it struck at the heart of the Confederation's difficulties, the Prussian veto, without destroying the federal constitution. For another, it gave promise of liberal reforms without resorting to a national German parliament elected directly by the people. A parliament would have been more democratic and therefore more acceptable to most liberals, but it would also have meant an advanced form of centralism in Germany, which would further have complicated relations with Austria. An assembly of delegates, on the other hand, would be composed of men still representing organs of individual states, whose identity—in appearance at least—would thus be preserved. From the Austrian point of view, moreover, an assembly of delegates would be the natural complement of the imperial

¹⁷ Text of the Dalwigk memorial (dated Nov. 18, 1861) in Wilhelm Schüssler, ed., *Die Tagebücher des Freiherrn Reinhard von Dalwigk zu Lichtenfels aus den Jahren 1860–1871* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1920), pp. 57–82.

Reichsrat, which was itself an assembly composed of deputies representing the provincial diets of the Austrian crown lands. The Dalwigk plan, in effect, gave the men in Vienna the opportunity to do in Germany what the Diploma and Patent had done in the empire.

Rechberg and Biegeleben wholeheartedly endorsed all parts of Dalwigk's plan except the alternating presidency (which they were willing to concede only in return for a federal military guarantee of the Habsburg non-German lands) and proceeded to organize a solid front against Prussia.¹⁸ In January, 1862, they dispatched Count Blome on a special mission to middle-state capitals to round up support for an Austro-middle-state alliance. They proposed that the governments should pledge themselves against a *kleindeutsch* reform plan; that they should allow Prussia to make the first move, after which they would counterattack with the Dalwigk plan; and that in case the Confederation collapsed, they should join a new federation to be formed without Prussia.¹⁹ Although Bavaria demanded that the narrower federation be reserved as a last resort and Saxony insisted that the coalition should not wait for Prussia to act first, the Austrian diplomats were able, by making the necessary modifications, to secure agreement. By the beginning of February, a pact known thereafter as the secret protocol was concluded.²⁰ At the same time, the Austrians were able to line up their middle-state colleagues for a vigorous protest against the Bernstorff note of the preceding December. In identical notes of February 2, Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, Hanover, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Nassau denounced the Prussian assault on the sovereign rights of the princes and called for a conference to work out plans for an assembly of delegates and a new central executive authority for the Confederation.²¹

The coalition then proceeded to work out a detailed strategy for executing the Dalwigk plan. In a circular dispatch of March 17, Rechberg, on the advice of Dalwigk, emphasized the importance of beginning with the assembly of delegates.²² That body possibly could be created by a majority decision within the framework of the existing constitution, and, once established, it would furnish additional arguments for proceeding to the other projected institutions. As a curb on the power of the princes in the Federal Diet, the assembly would have to be kept in line by a strong executive committee representing the governments, while as a complicating factor in the relationship between the

¹⁸ Rechberg to Lutzow, Dec. 7, 1861, Srbik, *Quellen*, II, No. 545.

¹⁹ Rechberg to Blome, Jan. 3, 1862, *ibid.*, No. 562.

²⁰ Fritz Greve, *Die Politik der deutschen Mittelstaaten und die österreichischen Bundesreformbestrebungen bis zum Frankfurter Fürstentag, 1861 bis 1863* (Rostock, 1938), pp. 36-44.

²¹ Text of notes in H. Schulthess, *Europäischer Geschichtskalender* (Nordlingen, 1862), pp. 14 ff.

²² Srbik, *Quellen*, II, No. 717.

Landtage and the Federal Diet, it would have to be accompanied by a federal court to make the revamped *Bund* function smoothly. There was still another reason for beginning with the assembly of delegates: the Federal Diet had already set the stage for such an institution by renewing its efforts to advance the civil and criminal code—the very measure which Usedom in the preceding August had denounced as a violation of the rights of the *Landtage*. As recently as February 6, in fact, that Diet had voted to establish the technical commissions for drafting codes of civil procedure and law of obligations.²³ It was only a question of moving that the state diets send deputies to an assembly formed for the specific purpose of assisting the Federal Diet in an examination of the commissions' reports. Later, of course, the assembly must be continued as an organic institution, but its creation could be regarded as a preliminary question associated with a general welfare ordinance and thus amenable to a majority decision. This strategy would also refute the Prussian charge that federal action on a civil and criminal code proceeded in defiance of the state diets.

The Austrian dispatch also contained an invitation to a meeting of ambassadors in Vienna to prepare for common action in the Diet. Yet it was not until July that the conference began. After all, one might well proceed with caution in a scheme that openly defied Prussia's stand on general legislation and majority decisions. Especially reluctant to risk antagonizing the men in Berlin were the states closest to Prussian guns. Mecklenburg-Schwerin, for instance, which had often participated in reform enterprises, decided not to join in another demonstration against Prussia.²⁴ Hanover, though finally agreeing to attend the conference, did so only after Prussia, in May, pointed up her scorn for the *Bund* by intervening unilaterally in the constitutional conflict in Hesse-Cassel. Nevertheless, goaded by Prussian action and by swelling popular *kleindeutsch* agitation reminiscent of 1848, the reformers gathered in Vienna on July 7.²⁵

Despite the long delay in bringing the ambassadors together, the conference, working quickly and efficiently, showed that enthusiasm for reform had not abated. On the basis of a plan submitted by the conference chairman, Biegeleben, the ambassadors agreed that in addition to the provision for an assembly of delegates, one for a federal court, far more liberal than any yet proposed, would also be presented at an early session of the Diet—the latter project with the understanding that if it did not receive unanimous approval, the majority states would adopt it among themselves. Thus, the reform

²³ *Prot. B. V.*, Feb. 6, 1862, No. 58.

²⁴ Hellmuth von Oertzen, *Das Leben und Wirken des Staatsministers Jasper von Oertzen* (Schwerin in Mecklenburg, 1905), p. 251.

²⁵ Greve, pp. 50 f.

offensive was to be led by the two enterprises that did not necessarily depend for success on Prussian support. At the same session, in order not to disappoint the public, the coalition states were to declare their intention of eventually converting the *ad hoc* assembly into an organic institution. Once the two bills had been referred to the supreme court committee of the Diet, on which the coalition states had a large majority, two more conferences were to be held in Vienna, one to agree on instructions for the committee members, the other to work out plans for establishing the executive committee and making the assembly of delegates permanent. The ambassadors also hoped that the additional conferences would compel Prussia to choose between attending them and publicly obstructing reform.²⁶

The complete accord manifested at the Vienna conference led Biegeleben to expect ratification by the governments in time to introduce the initial reform motions on July 31. This hope rapidly faded. The ambassadors at Vienna had not been plenipotentiaries, and, even as they talked, other problems arose to perplex their governments. The question of military reform, based on the idea of forming a separate middle-state army, caused angry recriminations among Hanover, Bavaria, and Saxony. The issue of the Zollverein had developed to a point where the middle states would have to choose once and for all between Prussia and Austria—between the Zollverein and the *Bund*. Days of wavering followed, but finally, on August 8, Bavaria denounced a low-tariff treaty that Prussia had just signed with France and announced acceptance of the Biegeleben program as outlined at the Vienna conference. Shortly afterwards, Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Hanover also cast their lot with Austria.²⁷

The belated Bavarian approval came none too soon if the assembly of delegates was to be realized. The Diet's annual recess was near; and since at least part of the motive for the reform program was to impress the restless public, the initial actions had to be taken before the adjournment, lest the old charge of procrastination prejudice the enterprise before it began. On August 10, therefore, the ambassadors hastily convened in Vienna to prepare for the coming operations. Numerous disputes took place even then. Saxony and Hesse-Darmstadt, fearing that the concessions to public clamor would be too slight, pleaded that the assembly of delegates should have power over the federal purse; Hanover insisted that the assembly be little more than a show piece; Württemberg felt that the initial motion should contain a detailed description of the assembly; and Austria saw in all precise commitments only a source of more time-consuming disputes and wanted to reserve the details

²⁶ Protocol of the conference, in Srbik, *Quellen*, II, No. 820.

²⁷ Greve, pp. 55–57; and Henderson, pp. 293–94.

for the committee report. Worst of all, Hesse-Cassel, still intimidated by Prussian intervention in her affairs the preceding May, made Prussian acceptance of the whole enterprise the condition of her approval—even though the anti-Prussian edge of the reform plans had been dulled by repeated invitations for Prussia to participate. In the end, however, the Biegeleben program came through unscathed, and the day for introducing the bills was set for August 14.²⁸

In other years, the final session of the Diet before the annual recess, especially if it came in the sweltering month of August, would have found many of the federal envoys already off to the nearby spas. On August 14, 1862, every chair in the assembly room was occupied, for the most radical proposals since the restoration of 1851 were about to descend upon the Frankfurt *Bundespalais*. The center of attraction was Usedom of Prussia. No one knew how he would vote. Ordinarily, a negative reply was to be expected; but in view of the tense struggle then raging in Berlin over the army reform bill, a struggle which had already alienated large numbers of Prussia's following in liberal Germany, there was some doubt that the men in Berlin would further disappoint popular aspirations by stalling wholesome efforts to liberalize and unify Germany's central authority.

The bill calling upon the supreme court committee to examine Austria's draft of a federal tribunal passed unanimously. But when the assembly of delegates came up for discussion, Usedom surprised even the least hopeful with the vehemence of his denunciation. Not content with reaffirming his position of the previous year that "federal decrees over all subjects not strictly within the boundaries of expressly stated federal aims can be passed only by unanimous vote," he seemed bent on destroying the Confederation altogether. If it was reform that was desired, he shouted, the great national movement could be satisfied only by a strong Germany with a unified executive power as well as a national parliament!²⁹ No wonder the envoys of the reforming states realized that they had a grim fight on their hands. Having acceded to Prussian demands of the year before to protect the interests of the state diets, they now found those demands increased to include a genuine national parliament. It was not impossible that their efforts to forestall an alliance between Prussia and the *Nationalverein* would in reality produce that alliance.

Whatever the ultimate fate of the *Bund*, only von Scherff of the Netherlands and the envoy of Denmark were willing to join Usedom in an effort to kill the proposal on the spot. The rest of the Diet, whether opposed to the project or not, saw no reason to deny it a hearing in committee, especially

²⁸ Protocol of conference and appendix, Srbik, *Quellen*, II, No. 862.

²⁹ *Prot. B. V.*, Aug. 14, 1862, No. 273.

since openly to oppose this effort toward some sort of popular representation would have given more hostages than ever to the forces of revolution. The motion was therefore sent to the supreme court committee, and the Diet adjourned, having taken at least the first steps toward reform.³⁰

Further progress was not so easy. The committee system of the Diet was a real bottleneck in the *Bund*; summertime inertia in Frankfort was hard to overcome; and questions of strategy divided the coalition. Rechberg desired a comprehensive committee report describing in detail the assembly's composition, powers, and method of convocation. Beust, Pfordten, and Dalwigk, on the other hand, insisted on a mere statement of committee approval of the bill, warning that asking too much at one time would jeopardize the entire project. To heighten the confusion, the Austrian envoy, Baron von Kübeck, opposed Rechberg, while Pfordten, on receiving his instructions from Munich, found that King Max favored Rechberg's policy. In the course of September, most of the envoys, for lack of instructions from their governments, deserted to the spas.³¹

It was not until October 25 that the federal court committee held its first meeting, and even then the agenda was limited to the most general questions of form. As long as the coalition states were still at odds, even though on minor points, Kübeck, who was generally recognized as the leader of the group, did not want to give Usedom a chance to exploit their differences or publicize the coalition's detailed plans. Premature disclosure of the powers intended for the assembly of delegates would have been dangerous: plans for a relatively powerful assembly would make approval by the Diet, even by majority vote, very doubtful, while proposals for a virtually impotent one would exasperate German liberals. It was especially important to conceal decisions on this point until October 28, when a meeting was scheduled of the *Reformverein*, a society of *grossdeutsch* liberals which Austria had helped form to rally public opinion around her reform plans. From its resolutions one could best tell what concessions must be made to public opinion.³² As it happened, the *Reformverein* acted favorably indeed: on October 29, it rejected a motion calling for a national parliament and instead conferred a resounding majority on a resolution of Albert Schäffle that an assembly of delegates would suffice, provided it met permanently.³³ Encouraged by this vote of confidence, the coalition states quickly ironed out their differences, and eventually Rechberg and King

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Correspondence between Kübeck and Rechberg, Srbik, *Quellen*, II, Nos. 882, 887, 889, 892, and 895.

³² Kübeck's report, Oct. 24, 1862, *ibid.*, No. 895.

³³ Adolf Rapp, *Die Württemberger und die Nationale Frage, 1863-1871* (Stuttgart, 1910), pp. 52-54. Cf. Schäffle, I, 112.

Max agreed to put the preliminary question—whether there should be an assembly of delegates at all—before the Diet first and to leave the details for later action.³⁴

It was now Usedom's turn to delay the proceedings. When, by the first of December, Pfordten had completed the committee's majority report and Robert von Mohl of Baden was ready with a dissenting opinion, Usedom did all in his power to keep the results of committee action out of the Diet. Displays of temper, innumerable requests for instructions from Berlin, and demands for more time to smooth out rough spots in his own minority report drew the proceedings out until it appeared that Christmas would come before the issue again reached the Diet.³⁵

The real force behind the Prussian campaign of attrition came, of course, from Berlin. In September, Bismarck had been recalled from Paris to become minister-president, and, though there was no love lost between him and Usedom, they both had at least one conviction in common: Prussia must not be "majoritized" in the Confederation. Although Bismarck had in the past hesitated to risk Prussia's reputation among German liberals by openly blocking popular federal measures, the situation was now such that he had little to lose by opposing the assembly of delegates. His flouting of the Prussian diet on the question of army reform had already made him the *bête noire* of Germany, and his reputation with the liberals could hardly suffer more through obstructionism in the Federal Diet. His denunciation of the assembly of delegates was therefore most emphatic. It did not depend on specious, legalistic objections such as Usedom was concocting for his minority report; it was an unmistakable threat that if the motion pending in the Diet passed by a majority decision, Prussia would secede from the Confederation. In conversations with Count Karolyi, Austria's ambassador in Berlin, the resolute minister-president warned Austria against encroaching on the Prussian sphere of influence, and pointing out that Hesse-Cassel and Hanover would be easy prey for Prussian troops, he left no doubt that he would back up Prussia's secession with blood and iron.³⁶

Despite the impression Bismarck made on some of the coalition states, Austria was resolved to fight the issue through. No persuasion of the Prussian

³⁴ Kübeck's report, Nov. 7, 1862, Srbik, *Quellen*, II, No. 904; and Rechberg's telegram to Kübeck, Nov. 9, 1862, *ibid.*, No. 905.

³⁵ Kübeck's report, Dec. 12, 1862, *ibid.*, No. 937. Usedom's own version of his performance would probably be somewhat different, but unfortunately his reports are not included in the Prussian documents for this period, Rudolf Ibbeken, ed., *Die Auswärtige Politik Preussens 1858-1871* (Oldenburg, 1932-34). Nor are Bismarck's instructions to Usedom on the assembly of delegates question contained in Bismarck, *Gesammelte Werke*.

³⁶ Karolyi's reports on his conversations with Bismarck, which may be found in Srbik, *Quellen*, II and III, have been satisfactorily summarized by Greve, pp. 62 ff. For Bismarck's version see Bismarck, *Werke*, IV, Nos. 10 and 14.

statesman could alter her position. To Bismarck's advice that the empire should shift its center of gravity to Hungary, Rechberg reiterated the intention of preserving Austria's historic rights in Germany. To a suggestion that Austria might save the situation by quietly putting the reform project to rest, he was likewise adamant, refusing to admit that the existing Confederation was incapable of self-improvement.³⁷ Kübeck at Frankfort was also firm. He lost all patience with the obstreperous Usedom and asked for permission to ignore the Prussian tactics and deliver the committee report at once. He believed that even if Bismarck then carried out his threat of secession, "an occasion like the present one is in any case much more favorable for us than many another, and therefore one might straightaway let the matter rest in Berlin."³⁸ There was no doubt that a real crisis had developed in Germany; the events of 1866 might well have occurred in 1862.

Armed with Rechberg's approval, Kübeck invoked his rights as president of the Federal Diet to put the committee report on the agenda, and on December 18, the long-awaited verdict was presented. As *Referent* of the committee, Pfordten proceeded to read the majority view.³⁹ It reiterated the contention that the issue of creating an assembly of delegates was a preliminary question involved in acting upon a general welfare measure, the civil and criminal code. The issue was therefore amenable to majority decision, for such was the inference that could be derived from Articles XIV and LXIV of the Vienna Final Act and also from past practice, in which even Bismarck had acknowledged the validity of majority decisions for preliminary questions. In addition, the report contended that even if unanimity were necessary, a majority of states could still set up the assembly of delegates among themselves. Finally, it advanced the motion that such an assembly be established and that the supreme court committee be instructed to work out the details of the project. Voting on the motion was scheduled for January 22, 1863.

Against this plausible, if somewhat strained, interpretation of the federal constitution, Mohl and Usedom thundered objections. Voicing the sentiments of Franz Roggenbach, his superior in Baden and a violent *Kleindeutscher*, Mohl insisted that whether or not the plan for an assembly of delegates was a genuine preliminary question, it still related to an organic institution and therefore demanded unanimity. He also repudiated the notion that majority states could adopt among themselves measures which failed to secure unanimity. Such actions would discriminate against the minority and prejudice a true "voluntary agreement," which the constitution mentioned in cases of

³⁷ Greve, pp. 65-69.

³⁸ Kübeck's report, Dec. 12, *loc. cit.*

³⁹ This and the following from *Prot. B. V.*, Dec. 18, 1862, No. 371.

this kind. Usedom, for his part, condemned majority decisions of any sort, whether for organic institutions or general welfare legislation, whether for final action or preliminary questions. He charged that if the assembly of delegates could be achieved through the devious approach plotted by the majority, "the Confederation would become . . . something else than it had formerly been"; and its competence could be extended "to all areas of legislation and administration."⁴⁰ And Usedom was right. If the reform plan succeeded, a German national state might well be in the offing—on a *grossdeutsch* basis. The Prussians could no longer, as in Bismarck's days at Frankfort, rely on an Austrian *Einheitsstaat* to stand in the way.

Now that the committee had acted, it was up to the Federal Diet itself to pass judgment when it should meet on January 22. A clear majority for the bill was far from certain. When Bismarck, unsuccessful in his efforts to alter Rechberg's course, turned his ominous threats of secession and war to the ears of other German ministers, his words had sobering effects.⁴¹ Few of the German governments applauded the assembly of delegates as such. They regarded it at best as a concession that was necessary to save the *Bund*. When it appeared that the reform program might drive Prussia out of the *Bund* and thereby contribute not to the Confederation's preservation but to its destruction, they could not but reconsider. Mecklenburg, which had always been loyal to the *Bund*, swung gradually into the Prussian camp. Denmark and the Netherlands were almost certainly on Prussia's side. Even among the coalition states all was not well. Hesse-Cassel could not be counted upon. In Bavaria, the minister-president von Schrenk, never sure that the reform project was a wise one, favored a quiet burial for the committee motion. From Hanover Prime Minister Platen advised that only a unanimous decision should be valid, while from Stuttgart, Hügel urged that the assembly should stand or fall immediately as an organic institution and thereby avoid the constitutional issue. This would enable the coalition states to please their subjects with affirmative votes without offending Prussia by a majority decision. It would take stronger stuff than this to save the *Bund*.⁴²

Despite wavering of the coalition, Rechberg, prompted at every step by Biegeleben, resolved to go on. Though a pupil of Metternich and an erstwhile believer in a *rapprochement* with Prussia—a policy he was later to return to in the Schleswig-Holstein question—he approached the assembly of delegates wearing the mantle of Schwarzenberg. He instructed Kübeck to reject outright a proposal of Sydow, the new Prussian envoy, to abandon the project

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Greve, p. 69.

⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 70–73.

and assured the middle states that Austria would back to the hilt all governments that opposed Prussia.⁴³ Firmness in Vienna did much to restore confidence in other capitals. In the tense days preceding the vote in the Diet, Rechberg could count definitely on Saxony, Württemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt. Meanwhile, Pfordten's efforts had succeeded in stiffening King Max against Schrenk's misgivings, while Austria's assurances of military protection brought Hanover back into line. With the coalition intact, except for Hesse-Cassel, the committee motion was assured of six affirmative votes. Prussia, for her part, had seven. She could count on Baden, Denmark, the Netherlands, the Thuringian states, and the vote of the fifteenth curia⁴⁴ shared by Oldenburg, Anhalt, and Schwarzburg. By January 16, after assurances of Bülow, the envoy from Mecklenburg, that his government would vote Yes had proved false, Prussia was sure of this state too.⁴⁵

Everything therefore depended on the attitude of four uncertain votes, most of which consisted of minor states. Hesse-Cassel, having deserted the coalition, was still a doubtful factor. The Brunswick-Nassau curia would have been definitely on Austria's side but for the misfortune that Nassau, a staunch defender of the reform project, did not at that time lead the vote for the curia, and repeated efforts by the duke of Nassau to bargain with Brunswick for permission to take over the vote on this occasion had not, by the eve of the voting, produced any definite results. To complicate the picture still more, the last two curiae were almost evenly divided among themselves. In the sixteenth curia, Reuss (younger line) and Waldeck were definitely for Prussia, while Lichtenstein, Reuss (elder line) and Homburg supported Austria. In this situation, Lippe and Schaumburg-Lippe, who seldom had any authority in federal affairs, might well decide the most important issue the Diet had faced since its restoration. No wonder Rechberg made very special appeals to bring them into the Austrian fold! A similar situation prevailed in the curia of the free cities. Lübeck and Bremen as usual would probably vote with Prussia, while Frankfort was inclined toward Austria. Hamburg was uncertain, and so she too received special exhortations from Vienna.

In this way was the stage set for the session of January 22, 1863. Seldom,

⁴³ Report of Kübeck, Dec. 30, 1862, *Srbik, Quellen*, II, No. 984; and circular dispatch to Austrian embassies, Dec. 21, 1862, *ibid.*, No. 966.

⁴⁴ In considering business amenable to majority decisions, the Diet met in *engerer Rat*, in which there was a total of seventeen votes. This meant that the smaller states were grouped together in curiae, each curia being represented by one envoy and casting a single vote. In the curiae containing an odd number of states, the curial vote was usually decided by the majority. In the Brunswick-Nassau curia, it was customary for the two states to alternate each year in appointing their joint envoy, and his state had the final word in deciding the curial vote. In the curia of the free cities of Hamburg, Frankfort, Lübeck, and Bremen, the decision was made by majority vote, but, in case of a tie, the city which had appointed the envoy decided the issue.

⁴⁵ This and the following in Kübeck's reports of Dec. 20, 28, and 31, 1862, *Srbik, Quellen*, II, Nos. 960, 983, 987, and 1042. Also circular dispatch, Jan. 3, 1863, *ibid.*, II, No. 1001.

if ever, had so many momentous issues hinged on the outcome of a single roll call in the Federal Diet. First, there was the simple question of whether projects of civil procedure and law of obligations would be advanced by calling on the co-operation of the state diets. More than this, it was a question of instituting some form of popular representation in the German Confederation. More important yet, it was a test of strength between Germany's two great powers. But above all, it was a question of survival for the *Bund*. If the German states were not willing to make this small concession to popular demands and aspirations, what hope could there be for greater concessions in the future? If a majority did ratify the committee motion, would Prussia accept such a decision? If she bowed before the majority will, the greatest obstacle to federal activity, the veto power of a single state, would suffer a hard blow and the way would be open for the possible fulfillment of a long cherished dream, the creation of a genuine *Bundesstaat* as part of a federated *Mitteleuropa*. But if the bill received majority approval and Prussia refused to be bound by the decision, there was every possibility that the issue would be taken to the field of battle.

On the appointed day, Kübeck, presiding, announced that the balloting would take place on the federal court committee's motion of December 18.⁴⁶ The voting followed with the customary, scrupulous observance of rank and precedence. First came Kübeck himself. Emphasizing, as if trying at the last minute to win Prussian support, that Prussia would have, in the assembly of delegates, part of her long-demanded parity with Austria, he declared for the proposal. Next came Sydow of Prussia, who voted against the measure. Then followed the envoys of Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and Württemberg, all voting with Austria. Mohl of Baden then added a second vote for the assembly's opponents. More important than any of these was Hesberg of Hesse-Cassel, for his attitude had been in doubt. His negative declaration dealt an ugly blow to the reformers; they needed almost all the doubtful states to win. Hesse-Darmstadt's Arnold von Biegeleben now proclaimed his state's fidelity to the Vienna protocol. After all, his superior, Dalwigk, was the father of it. Von Scherff of the Netherlands and von Dirckink of Denmark voted No as everyone had expected; Fritsch of the Thuringian states did likewise. Breidbach now arose, and his vote was most important, for he represented Brunswick and Nassau. Since those states had not reached an agreement, he could do nothing but abstain—another defeat for the coalition. Then followed Bülow of the Mecklenburgs and Eisendecker of the fifteenth curia to render their anticipated support for Prussia. Linde of the sixteenth curia was up next; Rechberg's pressure on Lippe and Schaumburg-Lippe had been successful,

⁴⁶ *Prot. B. V.*, Jan. 22, 1863, No. 31.

and Linde was able to declare for the motion. Pressure on Hamburg, however, had failed; the free cities cast against the project and therewith added a ninth and decisive vote in favor of the Prussian side. Even an affirmative vote from the Brunswick-Nassau curia could not save the motion now. The immediate result was the vain effort of Austria, later in the year, to appeal for reform over Bismarck's head by convoking a "Parliament of Princes" at Frankfort. The ultimate result was a showdown on the battlefield and Prussian hegemony in a *kleindeutsch* state.

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Roosevelt's Monetary Diplomacy in 1933

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AMERICAN diplomatic policy pivots on a new center point in the mid-twentieth century, and thoughtful historians are coming to realize it as they watch the Marshall Plan in action. Foreign friend and foreign foe experience, at home and abroad, the effects of the dollar as an economic, political, and military weapon. It has come to pass that, second only to its military program, a monetary system is the chief instrument used by the currently most powerful government in its efforts to shape important internal and external relationships.¹

Never before did a single currency occupy so high a diplomatic status. The pound sterling, in its day, had less and different work to do. It had, among other factors, the aid of an international gold standard which many governments allowed to function as an adjuster of trade—of production, prices, and the balance of payments. Under the gold standard, internal economic needs were held adjustable to the requirements of international trade. Under it also, a nation whose trading position became impaired had to pay the penalty in a loss of gold, in falling prices and unemployment, followed by a gradual readjustment leading to a modified recovery. The process was painful, but the peoples of the world tolerated it in the nineteenth century.

Thereafter, two world wars, with a world-wide depression between them, gave the masses the political leverage to demand that internal economic stability should be the first consideration of the diplomats; such stability should be the cornerstone on which a nation rested its monetary policy. Currencies must be “managed” by governments; no international agent, like a gold standard, should be allowed to affect jobs and prices. On the contrary, a nation's internal situation as to employment and the price level must shape its foreign economic policy. If competition with labor and prices elsewhere imposed severe penalties, the government must provide protection, far more flexible than tariff laws, through exchange control, multiple currencies, import quotas, double-pricing, or whatnot. The day of monetary and financial diplomacy was dawning.²

¹In her research in this field the author has been assisted by grants from the American Philosophical Society, the American Association of University Women, and the Social Science Research Council.

²The literature on the workings of the gold standard grew in bulk very rapidly during the three decades of violent economic change. Many economists and a few political scientists, armed to the teeth with sharp arguments, entered the lists to fight in the cohorts of Maynard Keynes

But monetary and financial diplomacy has hazards rather peculiar to it. The insistent demand for internal economic stability widens the area of governmental functioning and places a heavier strain upon the intelligence of both leaders and electorate. The powers and temptations of statesmen grow apace; confused individuals, grappling with intricate economic forces which they can but dimly comprehend, cannot be fully aware of the tremendous potentials for good and evil involved. They experiment, variously. Monetary devices, as experiments since 1919 have demonstrated, can be used to get a debtor nation the advantage over a creditor. They can prove powerful instruments to finance political, military, or economic dictatorships. Or, coupled with lending power, they can be projected—as is the intent of the Marshall Plan—as implements for fostering enough well-being in enough individual nations to encourage their collective, international contentment.

Furthermore, such diplomacy is, unfortunately, peculiarly susceptible to impatience. A mass fear of possible deflation, of unemployment, can defeat proposals to control inflation. The threat, or supposed threat, of impending domestic unrest can sap the courage of negotiators to stand up for long-range international agreements with greater ultimate benefits. Governments find that the pocket nerve of the people has grown too sensitive to tolerate a slow cure, although time may be essential to an effective recovery.

Altogether, the art of statecraft has grown increasingly complex and difficult. Any government intent upon international peace must seek to forestall, in all important countries, a multitude of internal unrests. Money has thus become a diplomatic weapon of unprecedented significance.³

United States diplomatic policy did not come to frank admission of its new center until about three and one half years after the 1929 crash. Even then, foreign governments and our own nationals, including many persons high in the Roosevelt administration, were slow to realize that the change had come. It took administrative policies connected with the World Monetary and Economic Conference of June, 1933, to make it clear to the rest of the world that the government of the richest nation now held internal economic con-

or of his opponents; out of the fray emerged a "New Economics" attributed to Keynes but sharply criticized by him just prior to his death in 1945. Their conflicts moved from the narrow field of pure theory onto the broad plains of practical application, as governments successively returned to, and abandoned again, the gold standard. The resulting literature is rich in political, social, and economic data for the historian of either domestic or international relations.

³ Perhaps the best comment, thus far, upon the way human limitations have functioned in recent monetary diplomacy, is found in J. W. Beyen, *Money in a Maelstrom* (New York, 1949); this Dutch practitioner of monetary diplomacy, through the past quarter century of international economic conferences, illuminates his experiential narrative with penetrating wit, sympathy, and understanding. An inclusive analysis of factual, theoretical, and human factors in the old gold standard is found in Jacques E. Mertens, *La naissance et le développement de l'étalon-or, 1692-1922* (Paris, 1944).

siderations to be the foremost criteria in adjusting international relationships.

President Roosevelt in his first inaugural address had made a frank avowal, and a hedging disclaimer:

Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are, in point of time and necessity, secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment!

In the same speech, however, he avowed that his basic thought was "not narrowly nationalistic" and that "there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency."⁴

The Continental gold bloc—France, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland—chose to assume that Roosevelt intended to stick with the international gold standard; it had been operating again since the mid-twenties, when their postwar struggles to regain "normalcy" had moved the European powers to readopt it, in a gold-saving form known as the "gold exchange" standard. But Britain led the way in abandoning it in September of 1931, frankly explaining that unemployment and other economic dislocations had brought her to the end of her resources; her closest trade associates, including the Dominions and Scandinavia, had followed suit, and this "managed currency" bloc was in 1933 enjoying an advantage over exporting nations still on the gold standard. The latter group clung to what now seems to have been an outworn ideology; "their financial structure was [yet] sound enough to resist the strain; they were strong enough to be good and not wise enough to follow the weak."⁵ Actually, it no longer paid a nation to be "financially sound."

The new President was feeling his way, at home and abroad, before clarifying his intentions as to the gold standard. He at once set his brain trust to writing, and Congress to enacting, a spate of emergency cures for immediate distress; and early in April he invited fifty-three governments to have their representatives confer in Washington, that they might exchange views prior to an international conference.⁶

⁴ New York Times, Mar. 5, 1933; about 300 pages of the first volume of *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1933* (Washington, 1950) are devoted to Roosevelt's initial monetary policies.

⁵ Beyen, p. 106.

⁶ Hull considered these conversations indispensable, as means of reaching a pre-conference understanding of mutual problems, and as educating Americans and other nationals to the importance of renewed world trade. *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 490. The invitation to Britain was contained in State Department, *Press Releases*, dated Apr. 5; to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan, Apr. 7; Canada and Mexico, Apr. 8; forty-two additional governments constituting the conference powers, Apr. 13. The first eleven were invited by telegraph to send special missions for these conversations; the other forty-two (which reputedly resented their initial lack of an invitation, New York Times, Apr. 13) were invited by note to be represented by the heads of their permanent diplomatic missions at Washington.

He had to face such a conference almost immediately, because the Hoover administration back in June of 1932 had admitted the need for a concerted, international attack on the depression. It had pledged United States participation in a "World Monetary and Economic Conference," endorsed by Britain and scheduled for 1933 at London, *provided* war debts, reparations, specific tariff rates, and disarmament were officially barred from discussion. To this, the twenty-eighth international financial and economic conference held since World War I, the United States would contribute her official presence. To this degree of international co-operation, at least, the outgoing administration had succeeded in binding the incoming.⁷ Obediently, a "preparatory committee of experts," including two United States members and meeting at Geneva in November of 1932 and January of 1933, had skated around these four of the unsolved problems in world frictions, while struggling to draw up a plan for discussion at London.

The topic of monetary and credit policy was not supposed to overshadow the five other subjects of deliberation—prices, resumption of movement of capital, restrictions on internal trade, tariff and treaty policy, and organization of production and trade—but they all proved to be affected by monetary policy. The interrelationship of these problems well illustrated the growing importance in diplomacy of monetary considerations and the crying need for stabilization of currencies. The off-gold powers hesitated to return to gold in view of the price uncertainty and the on-gold powers found their price recovery hampered and the price of gold affected by the monetary manipulations of the off-gold group. Thus torn asunder, the experts agreed that the conference should arrange for an eventual return to an international monetary

⁷ The Young Plan Advisory Committee meeting at Basel December 23, 1931, had called for international co-operation to relieve the "unparalleled dislocation," and leading governments issued a communiqué February 13, 1932, summoning a Lausanne conference for June, to treat of reparations and other economic and financial difficulties. In this the United States refused to participate, in view of political hazards connected with any admission of a nexus between payment of debts and reparations; and so Britain suggested a separate economic and financial conference at London. The Hoover administration announced May 31 and June 1 that "price stabilization" had become a matter of such "urgent expediency" that America would participate on the restricted basis indicated above. Actual assembling of the conference was stimulated by an article in the London *Economist* which circulated in the State Department, where they drafted a cable for Stimson to send to London asking in effect, "How about a Conference?" The Lausanne conference met June 16–July 9, 1932, reduced German reparations 90 per cent, listed the main issues to be treated at London, and assigned the preliminary examination of them to a "Preparatory Committee of Experts." Also a Disarmament Conference was projected to meet at Geneva, without the United States, concurrently with the London Monetary and Economic Conference. In mid-1932 hope for the success of both conferences was earnestly entertained by many people. *Report of the Special Advisory Committee Convened* [at Basel, Dec. 23, 1931] *under the Agreement with Germany Concluded at the Hague on January 20, 1930*, 1932 Cmd. 3995, p. 16; Mildred Wertheimer, "The Lausanne Reparation Settlement," *Foreign Policy Reports*, VIII (Nov. 23, 1932); State Dept., *Press Releases*, June 4, 1932, p. 545; *New York Times*, June 2, 3, 1932; *Final Act of the Lausanne Conference* [July 9, 1932], 1932 Cmd. 4126, p. 15.

standard, and in roundabout terms, implicitly rather than explicitly, indicated that gold was the only practical international standard. But they could not agree on when to return to it, listing numerous difficult conditions, national and international, which must first be met. Nor did they make it clear, even by implication, what should be done about foreign exchange prior to restoration of the gold standard. Their "Draft Annotated Agenda" amounted to a plea for international economic disarmament on a broad front—in the six fields listed above—but it became more a record of conflicting views than a program for definite co-operative action.⁸

The experts had political colleagues on the committee; they knew full well that technicians may propose but politicians can, and do, dispose. The members agreed in theory as far as possible, remembering that this was a purely technical committee without power to negotiate, and left the conference itself to grapple with realities. They made their agenda sufficiently cautious and inconclusive to receive the unanimous endorsement of the entire committee. Their agenda therefore was not unlike those used at Brussels in 1920, Genoa in 1922, and Geneva in 1927 (which also was unanimously endorsed).⁹ The ground needed to be cultivated more deeply before a world conference could produce any far-reaching monetary agreements. London in 1933 had not the background of Bretton Woods in 1944.¹⁰

The world stood in urgent need of some stopgap international agreement to steady wildly fluctuating exchanges—some promise of *de facto* stabilization. But the committee experts and politicians could not get close enough to pro-

⁸ This analysis is made from the original document, *Draft Annotated Agenda, Monetary and Economic Conference*, League of Nations, Official No. C. 48.M.18. 1933 II (Conf. M.E.I); and from correspondence concerning origins and early preparations for the conference in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1932, I* (Washington, 1948), 808 ff. Among the many thoughtful comments on the situation are: Leo Pasvolksky, dispatch from Geneva to *Barron's Review*, Feb. 27, 1933 and his "The World Prepares for Conference," *New Outlook*, CLXI (April, 1933), 17; J. M. Kenworthy, "American Policy at the Economic Conference," *Nineteenth Century*, CXIII (March, 1933), 269; Sir Herbert Samuel, "The World Economic Conference," *International Affairs*, XII (July, 1933), 452; George Gerhard, "Can the London Conference Succeed?" *North American Review*, CCXXXVI (July, 1933), 7.

⁹ The Americans appointed to the committee were Edmund E. Day, an economist then director of the division of social sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation, and John H. Williams, then professor of economics at Harvard University, whose primary interest was stabilization; they advised particularly with Norman H. Davis, who frequently had been assigned to observe conference activities abroad, but they had no power to negotiate. Each major power, except the United States, included a carefully chosen officeholder as one of its representatives on the committee and the very important economic subcommittee contained more government officials than independent experts. Some of the more important factors involved in political treatment of economic problems are analyzed in Jeannette P. Nichols, "Political Distortions of International Monetary Relations," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCII (1948), 433.

¹⁰ The probable futility of the conference became glaringly evident in the reports of Norman Davis (with F. M. Sackett, United States ambassador to Germany, the American representatives on the organizing committee for the conference) covering numerous conversations with various officials in London, Paris, and Berlin March 30–April 13, April 17–May 24. *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 474–86, 494–96, 575–615.

nounce on it themselves. Was it likely that the politicians at London could do better? What would be President Roosevelt's attitude? The statesmen invited to Washington in April, 1933, undertook to find out.

Just as the first important visitor, Britain's Prime Minister MacDonald, was about to set foot on the New York dock, the President enlarged on the meaning of his inaugural paragraph. By an executive order of April 20 ending the export of gold, he formally took the nation off the gold standard.¹¹ Now the visitors realized that in asking for concessions on debts and other matters they would not be dealing with a power which was begging them to stay on gold. This straightway forced the visitors and their economic advisers to reorient themselves—a process which was expedited as they saw how domestic legislation of the moment was devising for the executive vast inflationary powers, unprecedented in the history of American government. Indications were not lacking that the American administration would further implement the principle that diplomatic relations should be governed by domestic economic needs; other powers were traveling in that direction.

The best oriented of the notable visitors probably was Mr. MacDonald, for he well knew the two propositions then dominating British thought; there was the insistent demand that prices be raised and subsequently stabilized, and there was the phobia against gold shared by almost all classes and in practically all industry, with only some individuals contrary-minded. To the first proposition the President responded wholeheartedly, as indicated by the joint statement with which he and the Prime Minister on April 26 concluded their Washington conversations.

Our two governments were looking with a like purpose and a close similarity of method at the main objectives of the Conference. . . . The necessity for an increase in the general level of commodity prices was recognized as primary and fundamental. . . . We must, when circumstances permit, reestablish an international monetary standard which will operate successfully without depressing prices and avoid the repetition of the mistakes which have produced such disastrous results in the past. . . . We have in these talks found a reassurance of unity of purpose and method.

Subsequent joint statements with other visitors tended to stress "like purpose" rather more than "similarity of method" in approaching the problems of

¹¹ By an April 5 order he had required all holders of gold to turn it in at the Federal Reserve Banks by May 1; he told his press conference April 19, "One of the things we hope to do is to get the world as a whole back on some form of the gold standard." *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (New York, 1938-50) (hereafter cited as *Roosevelt*), II, 140. A congressional joint resolution of June 5 repudiated the gold clause in government, as well as private, obligations; subsequently the Supreme Court, in effect, sustained these policies; on the gold-clause decisions see J. P. Dawson, "The Gold Clause Decision," *Michigan Law Review*, XXXIII (March, 1935), 647; John Dickinson, "The Gold Decisions," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, LXXXIII (April, 1935), 715; H. M. Hart, jr., "The Gold Clause in United States Bonds," *Harvard Law Review*, XLVIII (May, 1935), 1057; P. J. Eder, "The Gold Clause in the Light of History," *Georgetown Law Journal*, XXIII (March, 1935), 359; and C. E. Carpenter, "The Gold Clause Cases," *Southern California Law Review*, VIII (March, 1935), 181.

employment, prices, and world trade; certainty was unattainable in the existing state of flux. The difference between the British and American public attitude toward gold was suggested in the President's joint statement of May 6 with Finance Minister Jung of Italy, which declared that "a fixed measure of exchange values must be reestablished in the world and we believe that this measure must be gold."¹²

The domestic economy reacted buoyantly to the abandonment of the gold standard; there was a rise in American stock and commodity prices and in the hopes of inflationists, who hailed this as their special victory.¹³ Internationally, the abandonment depressed dollar exchange and the spirits of many conference planners, particularly those of the gold bloc; it further complicated the world's monetary problems, and strained political and economic relationships. The 1931 fall in the pound had caused more painful deflation in the world; the 1933 fall in the dollar also stimulated unhealthy speculation and violent, costly fluctuations in foreign exchange. The long-hoped-for revival of foreign trade seemed postponed yet further. Not all foreigners were surprised when Roosevelt suspended gold payments; but many now doubted that it would be worth while to essay an international conference, since the United States seemed to be moving further in the direction of economic nationalism, and the policies of all governments seemed liable to change over night.

These persons might have been astounded if they could have known that the President at the moment was thinking of tying the dollar to an international agreement for the control of exchange fluctuations. Such a device to help revive world trade might help revive the United States. In fact, dim suggestions of the American-sponsored Tripartite Agreement of 1936 can be seen in certain confidential conversations of 1933. Roosevelt felt free to propose to the visitors from France, the most important power still on gold, that the United States would enter a dollar-pound-franc stabilization agreement provided the ratio were satisfactory; she would even contribute money to support a joint fund for this purpose.

Unfortunately, the French domestic political setup at this moment was not favorable to such an international agreement; the French were still afraid of inflation, whereas the British and American publics feared deflation.

¹² The official joint statements were issued to the press at frequent intervals and are printed in full in *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 489 ff. The major organs of the press carried them, in the evening issues and on the following morning. The Roosevelt-Jung statement was printed in the *New York Times* of May 7 alongside news that the Italian corporations which floated dollar bonds in the United States had unanimously agreed, ten days earlier, to abrogate the gold clause in those contracts.

¹³ Wesley C. Clark, in *Economic Aspects of a President's Popularity* (Philadelphia, 1943), analyzes popularity graphs, covering fifty-seven months later in the thirties, and concludes that they show "a positive relationship between the President's popularity and national income" (p. 50).

Further, her very numerous parties had France in a state of political paralysis, making her exceptionally vulnerable to outside influences. Consequently, when the relieved Premier Edouard Herriot and Professor Charles Rist cabled the offer from Washington to Finance Minister Bonnet in Paris, he yielded to fears that such an agreement would strike their electorate as a currency innovation of an inflationary character. French recovery was beset with domestic uncertainties and dissensions which he, apparently, lacked the political strength to ride down. So Bonnet cabled Herriot and Rist that France was strong enough to proceed independently of the United States; he flatly refused Roosevelt's offer of stabilization.

Embarrassed, the French emissaries reported to Roosevelt, asking for more time. A consultant to Roosevelt, Mr. William C. Bullitt, present at the interview, recalls that the President replied, in effect, that the United States was in the midst of rapids; he could steer either to the right or left of the rocks, but it had to be decided now. Again the appeal to Bonnet went over the cables; again he refused it. Then Herriot and Rist begged Roosevelt to hold the matter open, at least until they could reach Bonnet to explain to him in person. Roosevelt in his turn refused.¹⁴ Their impasse helped to make the joint press release of Roosevelt and Herriot, April 28, less co-operative in tone than the Roosevelt-MacDonald release two days earlier; this one vaguely referred to boosting world prices and trade with the help of the "reestablishment of a normal financial and monetary situation." The opportunity for prompt stabilization thus passed; an intricate economic decision had been concluded by the judgment of an individual politician. A mental note, of how Bonnet had closed the door when opportunity knocked, had been made by the presidential adviser; the time was coming when, on behalf of his President, this consultant would confront Bonnet with his own record.

Meanwhile, the President and his monetary and economic advisers (who included no leading New York banker) finished up the pre-conference conversations, against the background of a rapid succession of executive orders and congressional acts, and in the atmosphere of confident hope which marked the postinaugural "honeymoon" of the executive and legislature. The inhumanly heavy load of negotiations was necessarily shared with numerous consultants and experts, among whom were allocated the main problems, as soon as each top dignitary had been greeted according to protocol. To the problems of the London conference the President assigned many persons of many minds, securing a wide range of counsel by turning from one adviser

¹⁴ Mr. Bullitt's recollection as told to the author, Mar. 21, 1946; I am indebted to Mr. Bullitt for comment upon the subject matter of this article, but he has no responsibility for it. Many persons associated with President Roosevelt found that he was not inclined to have memos preserved of his conversations.

to another. This enabled him to experiment with new remedies as the sun rose on new emergencies, assuring maximum flexibility in the current crisis. He retained a sense of freedom from binding compulsion which kept his spirits buoyant under a load which would have crushed most men.

Such technique, however, placed his advisers and their negotiations under considerable strain, in this peculiarly vital problem of international monetary and economic relations. Those among them with the most flexible minds bore the stress of overtime labor in an extremely fluid situation. Others found it well-nigh unendurable to work at cross purposes, without any clearly defined division of authority and with much friction, misunderstanding, and confusion. The few who best understood the presidential problems and techniques were able to keep longest their equipoise, their usefulness, and their positions "near the throne." The rest found the continual uncertainty and occasional repudiation intolerable and withdrew the sooner from the intensely fascinating complexities of Washington, D.C.¹⁵

The many persons assigned to help on the 1933 conference apparently shared one invaluable quality—a sincere desire for a wise solution of the monetary and economic problems assigned to it. This quality, in numerous cases, was so unselfish that it moved a man to disregard his preferences, comfort, health, pocketbook, and "just desserts" to serve the administration. There, similarity ended abruptly. In background, economic status, method, personality, and experience these assistant-diplomats differed widely. These differences, plus the President's technique, ensured that they never would act as a team and that the United States would contribute a larger share to the futility of the London conference.¹⁶

Among the persons working behind the scenes upon conference negotiations, in the midst of other tasks assigned to them, were four gentlemen who may be cited as illustrating (a) the varied talents offered on the altar of the administration during the emergency and (b) the difficult roles thrust upon

¹⁵ Literature on the monetary policies of the F. D. Roosevelt administration is more voluminous for the forties, when international co-operation was stressed, than for the thirties, when the policies were narrower in scope. Several braintrusts and cabinet members familiar with the developments in the thirties have paid it more than casual attention in their memoirs and conversation, revealing directly and indirectly, intentionally and unintentionally, what it meant to be involved in the making and implementing of Rooseveltian policies. The complex and highly flexible quality of his nature and techniques have been much stressed; among the significant, frankly friendly, comments are those of Eleanor Roosevelt, *As I Remember* (New York, 1949), pp. 68, 72, 107, 113, 170, and Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew* (New York, 1946), pp. 3-6.

¹⁶ Many of the confidential memos which passed between persons working on the agenda and on the Washington conversations expressed grave doubt of a useful outcome of the conference; they apprehended what proved to be the fact, that the conference was neither timely, purposeful, nor useful. Viscount Snowden, who had attended three international economic conferences since World War I, analyzed the ingredients of failure in "The World Conference a Doubtful Prospect," *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, May 26, 1933.

persons near the President as American diplomatic policy shifted to its new pivot. The persons selected are William C. Bullitt, Herbert Feis, Raymond Moley, and James P. Warburg; and, to begin with, some note must be made of their various backgrounds.¹⁷

Mr. Bullitt held the position of "special assistant to the Secretary of State." He was a forty-two-year-old Philadelphia Democrat of large means and social prominence, a Yale graduate and former student at Harvard Law School. He had been a foreign correspondent and special diplomatic aid during World War I, gaining an extraordinarily wide acquaintance. He had been scouting abroad for Roosevelt during March and was made "executive officer" to the United States group in London, charged with "keeping in touch with foreign delegations" and with "distributing all information which becomes available to members of the American Delegation."¹⁸

Mr. Feis had begun in 1931 a long career as "economic adviser" in the State Department. He was a forty-year-old New Yorker, Harvard graduate and Ph.D., who had taught economics through the twenties, serving also as industrial relations adviser in the International Relations Office of the League of Nations, and writing in this field. He had worked closely with Secretary Stimson before a like relationship with Hull. To Roosevelt's inner circle he brought a too-rare combination of scholarship and seasoned experience in international economic dickering. This enabled him to see the practical limits of idealistic diplomacy—a quality which effective practitioners of the art of international economic relations, sooner or later, find indispensable. He became "director of experts" in the American group, placed in "general charge of the conduct of the work entrusted to the experts."¹⁹

Mr. Moley held the delicate status of "Assistant Secretary of State" accountable not to Hull but to Roosevelt. He was a forty-seven-year-old Ohioan, Columbia University Ph.D. and professor of government and public law, who had written numerous books on citizenship, crime, politics, and government, and had contributed an able pen to Roosevelt's 1932 campaign speeches. His eagerness to function usefully in the emergency led him often

¹⁷ Some small part of the work of the four, on the "Preliminary Conversations" of April 7–June 3 in Washington, is indicated in the memorandums of those talks. *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 489–574.

¹⁸ A part of Bullitt's functioning is suggested in *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 523–26, 621. Among Mr. Bullitt's contributions to diplomatic writings based on experience are "Report to the American People," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Aug. 19, 1940, and *The Globe Itself—A Preface to World Affairs* (New York, 1946).

¹⁹ A part of Feis's functioning is suggested in *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 514, 532, 554, 563, 566, 574, 622. Among the books produced by Mr. Feis out of his experience with international and domestic problems are *Europe the World's Banker* (New Haven, 1930), *The Changing Pattern of International Economic Affairs* (New York, 1940), *Sinews of Peace* (New York, 1944), *Seen from E. A.: Three International Episodes* (New York, 1946); the author of this article is indebted to Mr. Feis for consultation with him upon the subject matter of it, but she alone assumes responsibility for it.

to work sixteen to twenty hours a day under terrific strain. During the early months of the administration he was an extremely important, influential person, being set to work upon many tasks, and his frequent entrances into the White House seldom went unnoted. The important fact respecting his conference assignment was that his leanings then, like those of Roosevelt soon after, tended more toward economic nationalism than internationalism.²⁰

Mr. Warburg, a thirty-seven-year-old New Yorker, brought from Hamburg, Germany, in infancy, was a Harvard graduate who had been trained into his father's International Acceptance Bank, rising to the presidency. He had written several books on textile materials in world trade, and his international banking experience of a dozen years had convinced him, unlike Mr. Moley, of the need speedily to rehabilitate commerce under an improved gold standard. He came to Washington at his own expense, when invited to assist in the nation's economic rehabilitation, and the conference was but one of many avenues of his effort.²¹

These advisers, and many others hopeful of achievement through the new regime, labored night and day, together and separately, exchanging views at the White House, in the State and Treasury Departments, and at the Hotel Carlton (across Lafayette Square and one block farther up Sixteenth Street) where Secretary Hull and many other administration men forgathered. Using their conversations with visiting statesmen as a basis, an interdepartmental committee of experts, of which Herbert Feis was chairman, drew up an analysis of possible procedure for the conference, covering the main fields of the agenda. However, no other country fully agreed to this proposed plan, it never got the status of an instruction to the American delegates, and, particularly important, no one knew if the President understood it.²²

Each of the four men especially assigned to the conference work besides other duties gained his own impression of what the President was willing to contribute to it. On the moot matter of currency stabilization they had been working hard and closely, devising a plan for a revised international gold standard; but they had differing impressions as to the likelihood of stabiliza-

²⁰ Mr. Moley, in *After Seven Years* (New York, 1939), depicts graphically what it was like to be an important part of the Roosevelt entourage for a time and then to depart from it. His account of the London conference (pp. 196-269) should be read in conjunction with *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York, 1948), I, 246-69; with pertinent items of April-July, 1933, in *Roosevelt*, II and III; and with *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 452 ff.

²¹ A part of Warburg's functioning is suggested in *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 516, 521, 537, 549, 628, 641-79. His high hopes and bitter disappointments in this endeavor were recorded with some heat in *The Money Muddle* (New York, 1934), *passim*, and in his campaign polemic, *Hell Bent for Election* (New York, 1935), pp. 18-24, 33-34, 46, 65-67; these writings reflect the frustration endured by the unofficial negotiators at London, while subsequent Warburg statements show the cooling effect of time. See his *Foreign Policy Begins at Home* (New York, 1944).

²² A presidential broadcast of May 7 stressed four general objectives: reduction of armaments and re-establishment of international confidence and friendliness, reduction of trade barriers and stabilization of currencies. *New York Times*, May 8, 1933.

tion agreement at the conference. Bullitt was sure the President would be unwilling to accept a conference plan. Feis, whose current main field of endeavor was removal of trade restrictions, was not sure that Roosevelt had decided.

Moley understood that their gold standard plan was to be proffered "with the proviso that each nation must be free to decide when, and with what gold coverage it would adhere to the new standard"; he was much impressed by the world trend toward economic nationalism, and apparently thought politics would inhibit the conference from accomplishing more than a loosening of exchange restrictions and a better co-ordination of central bank policy and public expenditures. This would scarcely seem to be expansible into a stabilization pledge. Nor did it allow of conference acceptance of broad pledges for loosening of international trade restrictions, the project dear to the heart of Secretary Hull. Moley's estimate of the outlook enjoyed the special emphasis of an announcement on May 20 over a radio network in which he said, "Our domestic policy is of paramount importance." Roosevelt did not repudiate the broadcast. In fact, the tariff and stabilization situations were but two illustrations of the way in which the priority of domestic considerations controlled diplomatic policy.²³

Mr. Warburg saw a very different trend, as he carefully recorded the conversations with the foreigners. On the one hand the United States must be free to achieve recovery at home, desiring most a rise of prices. But also this country appreciated the need for exchange stability, considered that one of the primary purposes of the conference must be re-establishment of an international monetary standard, and looked forward to its ultimate perfection as an improved gold standard. It advised other powers to balance their budgets, remove trade restrictions, re-examine their debt structure and establish co-operation between central banks on monetary policy. He took these to be the principal points of the program for London, embodied them in a series of resolutions, and showed them to Roosevelt. The President leafed them through rapidly, said that he guessed they were all right, and put them in a drawer for another day.²⁴

The presidential attitude on instructions shifted from time to time. He told

²³ Significant comment on Moley's broadcast includes *New York Times*, May 21, 23, 28; *Congressional Record*, 73 Cong., 1 sess., May 23, p. 4132; *London Economist*, May 27, 1933, "The Washington Enigma." Hull knew that his conference job of reducing trade barriers was being effectually undermined from abroad and from high tariff groups in NRA (with whom Hugh Johnson sympathized) and AAA; but he had to go through the futile effort and it left him still embittered, fifteen years later. See *Memoirs of Cordell Hull and Moley, After Seven Years*, loc. cit.

²⁴ Warburg, *The Money Muddle*, pp. 100-102, 107-113; Mr. Warburg's recollection as told to the author, Mar. 25, 1946.

newsmen on July 3, "There have never been any instructions. We have talked the thing over by cable and telephone but there have never been any instructions."²⁵ Yet he had been emphatic in pronouncing objectives for the conference—in his fireside chat of May 7 he had listed reduction of armaments and of trade barriers, stabilization of currency, and re-establishment of international friendliness—in that order. In his message of May 16, to the heads of the fifty-four governments then represented in the long-drawn-out Disarmament Conference at Geneva and with few exceptions to be represented at London, he spoke mainly of political peace, of disarmament; but he demanded also economic peace, for which the London conference must not keep the world waiting long. "The Conference must establish order in place of the present chaos by a stabilization of currencies, by freeing the flow of world trade, and by international action to raise price levels. It must, in short, supplement individual domestic programs for economic recovery by wise and considered international action."²⁶

Next, Roosevelt proceeded to make use of the Warburg resolutions. Somewhat to their author's surprise, he pulled them out at a pre-sailing gathering of delegates and read them aloud, and then made them a part of an official "Memorandum of Policy" sent each delegate over his signature on May 30. He described it as a summary of his verbal instructions to them regarding the policy they were to propose at London. This memorandum is highly significant, in the light of what ensued one month later, because three of the major problems "which should at once be taken up by the conference" concerned monetary agreements. These were: establishment of general principles of a co-ordinated monetary and fiscal policy, removal of foreign exchange restrictions, and laying of groundwork for an adequate and enduring international monetary standard.²⁷

The resolutions particularized on stabilization under a "future" gold standard. "It is in the interests of all concerned that stability in the international monetary field be attained as quickly as practicable. . . . Gold should be reestablished as the international measure of exchange values." The use of gold should be confined to cover for circulation and to settling of international

²⁵ Press Conference of July 5, 1933; *Roosevelt*, II, 268. In the same interview he said, "Exactly like England, we don't know what to do next. . . . Among the instructions to our delegates when they first went over there" was a clause suggesting that in future gold might be used only as collateral in bullion form.

²⁶ This message was reprinted in *Cong. Rec.*, 73 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 3480-81; all but two paragraphs of it urged progress upon the Disarmament Conference, then expiring after a year's futility.

²⁷ The other three concerned a tariff truce for the duration of the conference and basic agreements on gradual abolition of trade barriers and on control of production and distribution of certain commodities, a field of considerable committee activity at the conference. "The Memorandum of Policy" with accompanying letter, is printed entire in *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 620-27.

balances, with the various central banks requested to meet "at once" to consider adoption of a "uniform legal minimum gold cover for the currencies."²⁸ This was the presidential pronouncement when his emissaries set sail.

In his choice of an "official" delegation, he followed his practice of continuing flexibility. His first consideration apparently was to equip it with influential politicians, to hedge against congressional opposition to any legislation emanating from London. Therefore Secretary of State Hull, aged sixty-two, who of course was to be chairman of the delegation, could not be given associates chosen particularly for diplomatic or scholarly competence. The vice chairman was sixty-three-year-old James M. Cox, Democratic presidential candidate to whom Roosevelt had been a running mate in 1920; he was the only delegate, besides Hull, who cared greatly about the success or failure of the conference as a whole. From the Senate Roosevelt took sixty-one-year-old Key Pittman of the silver state of Nevada, president pro tempore of that august body, and Senator James Couzens of Michigan, reputedly the only Republican willing to take the assignment and actually a confirmed economic nationalist. From the House Roosevelt took sixty-one-year-old Samuel D. McReynolds, chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee. His sixth choice was the wealthy San Antonio Democrat, Ralph W. Morrison, a fifty-one-year-old operator in investment, banking, and cotton, member of his party's finance committee; perhaps Mr. Morrison's major contribution to the deliberations was his flair for the comic. In justice to the other members, however, it should be added that each made his own contribution to what became a maladroit performance.²⁹

Roosevelt obviously did not think that the United States needed to be represented at London by a delegation thoroughly informed on the problems at issue and united upon methods for solving them. He expected to determine important decisions himself and thought that if he sent a staff of experts along they could safeguard the delegation from gross missteps. That was his mistake; no human power could have kept his group in a semblance of order. The experts to whom was assigned this impossible job included W. C. Bullitt as executive officer, Herbert Feis as chief technical adviser, and J. P. Warburg as financial

²⁸ In addition, the monetary resolutions proposed agreements upon silver, to limit sales, prevent debasement of silver coins, remonetize subsidiary coinage, and to permit 20 per cent of the metallic cover to be in silver.

²⁹ Chairman Hull was not consulted on the naming of the delegates, had scant influence over them, and was continually embarrassed by them. *Memoirs, loc. cit.* The British and French press were merciless in playing up real and supposed ineptitudes, and Republican organs in the United States availed themselves fully of their opportunities. It seems unlikely that the United States delegation committed all the *faux pas* ascribed to them, but concerning their numerous and highly publicized conflicts among themselves William Allen White remarked that they were "the results not of policy, not of dissension, but a divine gift of ineptitude, little short of sheer genius." *Literary Digest*, CXVI (July 1, 1933), 5.

adviser, with some seventeen more persons named for other reasons, including special interests and for friendship's sake.

The British and French likewise appointed politicians, but as more unified groups. The British delegation was Conservative, headed by Chancellor of the Exchequer Chamberlain. Its members were chiefly of the protariff, empire preference persuasion, shrewd, experienced, practical, with very definite economic opinions, but unlikely to display their differences during the conference. They rather wished to mediate between the United States and France, for they had some sympathy and understanding for the predicament confronting the President; but they did not fully share Mr. MacDonald's urge to concede. The Prime Minister, who had reported to Commons that the United States and British governments thought alike on prices and currency stabilization, had not met deafening applause on his return home. He was to occupy the presidency of the conference, an office which barred him from active membership in their delegation. In addition, the British cabinet and permanent undersecretaries of the departments were destined to be "constantly in evidence" throughout the conference.³⁰

The French, never forgetting the punishment which their postwar inflation had given them, sent a delegation led by Bonnet and were already insisting that the conference could accomplish nothing effective until after it had arranged for international monetary stability, an order of procedure which suited neither American nor British public opinion. The French were determined to force the United States to agree to their concept of stabilization, or to bear the onus of a conference collapse. Their politicians saw the franc badly weakened by American policy; if France were forced off gold, the conservative, frugal French peasantry must blame Uncle Sam rather than unseat their ruling ministry. Truly, there was no great prospect of international harmony to dim the outlook for a lively conference.³¹

The British and French had been giving ample evidence of their addiction to the new diplomacy. While MacDonald in Washington had been exuding optimism on international trade concessions, the Conservative majority remained committed to the Ottawa agreements for empire preference; and Baldwin was concluding bilateral trade agreements containing quota restric-

³⁰ *New York Times*, May 7, 10, 19; Aug. 4, 1933, press interview with Henry Morgenthau, sr. The British delegation was announced in Commons May 18 and was well aware that their textile interests and the Dominions were far from enthusiastic about the conference, multilateral trade agreements, or restoration of the gold standard.

³¹ To the French and some of the British, Roosevelt's expensive public works projects were anathema; they refused his proposal that they imitate them (preferring to manipulate trade barriers), which moved the United States to forge other weapons to protect herself from their cheaper goods. This antithesis to the old diplomacy scarcely pointed to international economic disarmament.

tions with Denmark, Germany, and Argentina, hedging against probable conference failure. The dying faith in co-operation was officially attested in a tariff truce signed in London on May 12 by the United States, Britain, France, and five other powers, who agreed not to sharpen their "measures of all kinds which at the present time misdirect and paralyze international trade" nor to adopt new ones of that sort, before July 31. But even to this short-term agreement the British stipulated a reservation that the truce did not nullify the agenda declaration that a rise in prices might be obtained through regulation of exports. The French, who had held their own imperial collaboration conference just three days earlier, made a reservation stipulating freedom to impose surtaxes on existing duties.³²

Both Britain and France felt the need for protection against general features of American policy and believed that Roosevelt's emphasis upon monetary means to raise prices ignored other needed adjustments. For his part, Roosevelt suspended briefly the tariff (processing tax) features of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. But he delayed making the demand, which Hull desired, that Congress now grant authority permitting the executive to scale tariffs downward, and he had accepted the inflationary "Thomas Amendment" to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which empowered him to devalue the dollar by one half, to establish bimetallism, and to issue fiat money.³³

The American arrangements ensured dissension throughout the conference between the President and his emissaries, and among those emissaries themselves. He sent off on the *S.S. Olympic* four men of conservative affiliations, delegate Cox and three unofficial workers—Warburg, George L. Harrison, who was governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and O. M. W. Sprague, Harvard professor who had been economic adviser to the Bank of England (1930-1933) and who now was a financial assistant to the Treasury Department. Harrison and Sprague were assigned to negotiate "outside of the Conference" with representatives of the British and French governments and central banks, for that ultimate stabilization agreement which Roosevelt had projected as among the duties of the conference. They were not delegates; if their work proved popular it could be endorsed; otherwise it, and they, could be repudiated. As liaison man between them and the official delegates, Roosevelt appointed Warburg.³⁴

³² The truce terms were listed in the *New York Times*, May 13; the five other powers were Germany, Italy, Belgium, Japan, and Norway; see also *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 586, and *passim*. Even this short-lived truce would have been impossible but for the influential efforts of Norman Davis, who shouldered the task on urgent pleas from Feis; according to *Current History*, XXXVIII (July, 1933), 458, it was Davis who persuaded Walter Runciman, president of the British Board of Trade, to accept the truce.

³³ Hull could hardly admit that the same lack of international faith which was killing the Disarmament Conference must kill the Economic Conference, since disruptive nationalism was daily growing stronger in Germany, Italy, France, and Britain, as well as the United States.

³⁴ Their behind-the-scenes consultations did not emerge in the official *Journal of the Monetary*

Meanwhile, four other members of the official delegation—Hull, Pittman, McReynolds, and Morrison—had sailed on the *President Roosevelt* with the rest of the advisers and entourage, while the belated Republican member, Couzens, followed several days later. This large group knew not harmony.

Chairman Hull knew that disarmament had gone by the board, and that, although debts and reparations were officially outside the agenda yet nevertheless being discussed (Chamberlain injected them at the outset), nothing would be accomplished in that field. Nor was he concerned with stabilization—"a Treasury matter." That left the tariff as his field of activity; although a wireless received on the boat informed him that his "trade agreements" bill would not be introduced that session, he strove hard at London for endorsement there. He instructed Feis to formulate a number of proposals, including one for general reduction of 10 per cent. Pittman, who was developing an effective coalition for raising the price of silver with the help of protection and gold-standard votes at home, opposed reciprocal agreements and promptly denounced the 10 per cent plan and its publicizer. Hull thereupon retreated into a vague, less politically dangerous statement, leaving Feis to tell off Pittman in the nonexistent "privacy" of the American delegation. Co-operation on the tariff got no further.³⁵

Delegate Cox had his own open clash with Pittman. Cox had succeeded in being made chairman of the very large monetary commission of the conference, with Bonnet in close proximity as *rapporteur* of it. Cox thus became the first American to preside over a commission organized under League auspices, and he voiced enthusiasm over his association with Bonnet, adding "as everyone knows, I have always favored a sound monetary policy." This was scarcely an endorsement of Pittman's silver plans, but that astute gentleman knew perfectly well how to garner silver concessions out of a gold failure; when the monetary commission was split on June 16 into a committee on temporary, and one on permanent, stabilization, he became active, and successful, in the latter, where he obtained a silver agreement. It was the stabilization question to which attention wandered, from the various committees among

and Economic Conference, League of Nations, Official No. Conf. M.E.22 (London, 1933), which reported nine plenary sessions and numerous committee meetings; the other official compilation was *Report to the Council on the Work of the Fortieth Session Held at Geneva from November 14th to November 17, 1933*, Economic Committee, League of Nations, Official No. C. 643.M.306. 1933. II.B. The impasse which actually wrecked the conference is revealed in part in *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 641-79.

³⁵ The tariff contretemps was followed in the *New York Times*, June 13-20, 1933. In Pittman's book, monetary stabilization must include the silver price rise. His powers of negotiation in the Washington arena had been demonstrated and he was confident of the help of British statesmen at London. Pittman, "The Currency Issue at London," *New York Times*, June 11, 1933. He proclaimed the need for temporary stabilization pending establishment of an improved, more economical gold standard accompanied by "stabilization" of silver, at a raised price.

which the agenda and the delegates had been apportioned. The French held to their insistence that a stabilization agreement precede other business. So, other diplomatic moves rather hung fire while monetary diplomacy took its course, and that course soon shifted from international to domestic imperatives.³⁶

Some two thousand persons, from sixty-six countries, were sitting around council tables in the new Geological Museum down in South Kensington and in other London spots, with "the whole world looking in at the window." As Henry Morgenthau, sr., disgustedly observed, "This was not a Congress of free minds working to solve the world's problems," but one in which every delegate had been instructed to get national advantages and few were authorized to concede anything without consulting their home governments. Some aid to agreement may have been contributed by the seventy-foot bar installed beneath the conference hall, with as many kinds of liquid as the consulates had listed preferences; but the Manchester *Guardian* decided that it would be a "miracle" if they agreed on *world* restoratives.³⁷

Outside the official committees the unofficial workers from the United States labored on a stabilization truce, conferred continually, counselling, via cable and telephone, with a group in New York City composed of Baruch, Woodin, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Acheson, and (sometimes) Moley. The British proved more willing to make concessions than the French, because the former shared the American wish for a price rise precedent to stabilization. By June 15, Harrison, Warburg, and Sprague, with Montagu Norman of the Bank of England and Clement Moret of the Bank of France, had drawn up a plan for temporary stabilization, based on French insistence that the conference could not continue without it.

The plan was cautious: a median dollar-pound rate of \$4.00 was to be maintained as far as feasible for the "life" of the conference; Britain was not to employ her Equalization Fund nor Roosevelt the Thomas Amendment to move the rate below \$3.88 or above \$4.12 unless "exceptional circumstances" arose from domestic conditions; and they were to announce that stabilization of their currencies on gold under proper conditions formed the "ultimate objective of their policy." The official delegates knew, as did everyone reading

³⁶ Finance Minister Bonnet addressing the Anglo-American Press Club, and the French cabinet meeting June 6, openly insisted that monetary stabilization must be agreed to before anything else of importance. *New York Times*, June 8, 1933. Premier Daladier told the deputies that the ministry favored raising prices by the old method of preferential tariffs rather than the new method of monetary manipulation. For a good, brief summary of Pittman's work on the silver agreement see Allan Seymour Everest, *Morgenthau, The New Deal and Silver* (New York, 1950), pp. 28-32.

³⁷ Manchester *Guardian*, May 26; *New York Times*, June 16 and Aug. 4, when it carried a statement from Morgenthau, then aboard the *Berengaria* enroute home; *New York Herald Tribune*, June 28, 1933. The only delegate who carried an agreement in his pocket when he boarded the boat for home was the one who, by all accounts, spent a very large portion of his time on the lower floor.

the conference news stories, that a truce was on the fire, and when it had been submitted to Roosevelt felt some relief.³⁸

Not so those of their compatriots back home who sensed a drift back toward deflation. Their reaction was violent: stock and commodity markets were depressed; the foreign exchange value of the dollar rose; speculative capital took flight; and the eloquent inflationists organized as the "Committee for the Nation" spoke with a loud voice. These included silverites, devaluationists, greenbackers, revaluationists, industrialists, some bankers, dairymen, farmers, and others—a mighty host led by able persons, in some ways reminiscent of earlier cheap-money movements and quite in the American tradition. One of their prophets was the popular radio priest, Charles E. Coughlin, of the depression-ridden city of Detroit. No less than seventy-five representatives and ten senators petitioned Roosevelt to send this inflationist as an adviser to the conferees.³⁹

President Roosevelt was happily sailing his vacation schooner, the *Amberjack II*, in idyllic northern waters, far from the hectic halls of the South Kensington Museum. He was rapidly approaching the reorientation of his diplomatic policy, coming to realize that his price-wage-raising formula for domestic recovery was incompatible with a fixed dollar value. So he cabled objections to London: Would not a range of \$4.05–\$4.25 be better? Would London and Paris combine to place the dollar at the lower end of the range, accuse the United States of bad faith if the agreement failed to come off properly, and unduly prolong the "life" of the conference? "Banker-influenced cabinets" were attaching far too much importance to exchange stabilization (which was not too vital, he thought, to United States trade anyway); balanced budgets and permanent national currencies based on standard reserves, as he put it, were far more important as ultimate objectives. In sum, "At this time we should avoid even a tentative commitment in regard to any definite program by this Government to control fluctuations in the dollar." He was sending over his personal emissary, Moley, who would sail on the twentieth.

Harrison hurriedly set sail in the opposite direction, June 17, while War-

³⁸ Warburg, *Money Muddle*, pp. 113–14, 252; Moley, *After Seven Years*, pp. 228 ff. Conservative and more radical notions as to possibilities of Anglo-American compromise were typified by Sir Herbert Samuel's article in *International Affairs*, XII, 455, and in the London *Economist* leader of May 27, "The Washington Enigma."

³⁹ In 1933 inflationary sentiment permeated American business much more deeply than in earlier depressions; leading officers of the "Committee for the Nation" included James H. Rand of Remington Rand; F. H. Frazier, chairman of General Baking Company; L. J. Rosenwald, chairman of Sears Roebuck; and F. X. Sexauer, president of Dairymen's League Cooperative Association. Laboring oars were pulled by George LeBlanc, former head of the foreign department of a large Wall Street bank and Dr. E. A. Rumely, an industrialist. See also, J. P. Nichols, "Silver Inflation and the Senate in 1933," *Social Studies*, XXV (January, 1934), 12.

burg and Cox pled with Roosevelt by cable. They suggested that the range might be expanded as far as \$3.80-\$4.20, that the plan was but a temporary device and full of "let-out" clauses, that if they made no tentative commitment the conference would conclude that either the United States had changed its mind or its representatives had exceeded their authority. This to no avail; Roosevelt vetoed temporary stabilization.⁴⁰

The harried negotiators in London issued a statement June 22 (submitted in advance to the British and the irate French) which Warburg hoped would restore much of their lost prestige. The statement confessed that undue emphasis had been placed on temporary stabilization which now was "untimely": it was likely to help the world less than an American price rise, and furthermore it never had been the affair of the official delegation, which had introduced a resolution for ultimate stabilization and was working on measures to stimulate activity and raise prices. A personal cable from Cox to Roosevelt begged, June 22, "If you love us at all don't give us another week like this one." Whereat Roosevelt replied, June 24, "Delighted the way things are going. . . . Prestige of delegation is generally excellent at home."

During the week that the *S.S. Manhattan* was plowing the seas, bearing Moley, what shreds of good temper had been left to this conference blew away on the hot winds of argument over debts, the tariff, and stabilization, with the British and Continental press in full cry after the Americans, although Warburg thought the press on the whole was "rather decent" about the June 22 developments. The American delegation's nerves were worn raw. The President was announcing that the discord was due principally to "the over-enthusiasm of unwarranted assumption of authority on the part of some who took part in the work of the American delegates but were not themselves members of the delegation." The United States stock market rose, as did the pound, to \$4.43 at one juncture.

In the midst of the turmoil Sir Arthur Salter got at the nub of America's shift into the new diplomacy. He explained in the *New York Times* of June 25 that this was a matter of domestic prices and employment in both the United States and England; but Londoners, he said, thought that Roosevelt was aiming at higher prices than was Chamberlain and might not be allowed to stop when he wished to, while the Bank of England might not allow Chamberlain to go as far as he desired. This significant difference, in executive functioning in the new diplomacy, was destined to continue for some years but became markedly less true in the next decade.⁴¹

⁴⁰ On the influence of Howe see Everest, pp. 28, 182. The press on both sides of the Atlantic was full of these negotiations June 15-July 4, 1933, and apparently little of importance was kept secret from the newsmen. The texts of numerous cables passing between Roosevelt and Warburg, Sprague, Cox, Hull, and Moley are in *For. Rel.*, 1933, I, 641-79.

⁴¹ The Hull, Warburg, and Moley accounts afford three aspects of the episode from the

Midnight of June 27 brought Moley to London, where his every move was watched, and raised the curtain on the final act of the 1933 conference. At their latest consultation Roosevelt had told him that the way was still open for some agreement to calm the gold-standard countries, *provided* it could be done without shipping gold from the United States or checking price advances achieved since he took the dollar off gold April 20; but Moley was not to publicize this attitude, and he must impress the delegation with Roosevelt's primary objective—the raising of world prices.

Three days of most serious negotiation ensued, with the French joining somewhat in Anglo-American sessions, as the gold bloc had failed in an effort to establish a franc-pound ratio exclusive of the dollar. Moley had very earnest conversations with Chamberlain, MacDonald, and Leith-Ross of Britain, Rist of France, and Jung of Italy; he now realized that if the fear of inflation were not quieted by the semblance of an agreement, the people in the gold-standard nations might get out of hand. Also, Moley was conferring by trans-Atlantic telephone with Woodin and Acheson of the Treasury, Undersecretary of State Phillips, and with the Nestor of the Democratic party, Mr. Bernard Baruch, whom Moley reached at Woodin's New York apartment, where the secretary lay, critically ill.⁴²

The resulting draft of an agreement, which was cabled to Roosevelt on June 30, was designed to prevent an abrupt breakup of the conference and to check extreme speculation growing out of the steady American price rise. All the signatories voiced their respect for international monetary stabilization and for gold as the measure of foreign exchange. The gold bloc reasserted their intention to maintain that standard. The off-gold countries took note of the importance of the gold-bloc intention and, "without in any way prejudicing their own future ratios to gold," reaffirmed that an international gold standard "under proper conditions" was their ultimate objective. During the necessary interim, all were to adopt the "measures which they deem most appropriate" to limit exchange speculation, and their central banks were to co-operate to that end. Woodin, Acheson, and Baruch endorsed this draft, by telephone, across the sea.

inside of negotiations: the official, the unofficial, and the special emissary. See also *Roosevelt*, III, 245; *Washington Star* June 22; *London Economist* June 17, 24; and *New York Nation* July 5, 1933. The British Exchange Equalization Fund had been increased, presumably to steady rates during the conference, but it succeeded only partially; the pound was indirectly linked to gold by tying it to the French franc, a policy criticized by some British bankers as obstructing a needed price rise: Report of Ray Atherton to Secretary of State, July 19, State Department Files, 841.00 P.R./294.

⁴² Exclusion of the dollar had been vetoed particularly by the Canadians. Details of this grueling experience may be followed in Moley, *After Seven Years*, pp. 243–55; see also Feis, *Sinews of Peace*, pp. 52–54, and *London Statist*, July 8, 1933. At one crucial juncture in the New York–London telephone connections, the wire was silent for ten minutes, silent because it appeared that the faithful Woodin had expired during the consultation.

Hours of anxious waiting followed, with no telephone between Campo Bello and the mainland, with the newspapers of July 1 giving a rather close approximation to the substance of the proposed agreement and to the circumstances of its submission, and with some American outcry and confident assertion of presidential disapproval. New York stock prices fell. On this fateful day Roosevelt's conferees were Henry Morgenthau, jr., farm credit administrator currently engrossed in raising farm prices, and Louis McHenry Howe, most trusted adviser, who particularly feared the effects of stabilization upon the domestic economy.

Before nightfall the latest London handiwork was summarily rejected; Roosevelt had found it "particularly unwise from political and psychological standpoints." He now declared that a "fixed ratio" would be a "catastrophe amounting to a world tragedy." The executive was seeking a dollar with a stable purchasing power, which would mean more to the good of the world "than a fixed ratio for a month or two in terms of the pound or franc." He castigated the conferees as guilty of "specious fallacy" and of cherishing "old fetishes." By an irony of fate, the President's final answer, released by the unhappy Hull on July 3, was a paraphrase of a memorandum against rigid and arbitrary stabilization which Herbert Swope had written and which Moley had left with Roosevelt June 20. This July 3 "bombshell," promptly publicized in the United States, met paeans of praise over much of the country for the "new Declaration of Independence" which declined to allow foreign powers to dictate American internal and foreign policies. Prices and stocks boomed again.⁴³

The London conference approached collapse. Bonnet had returned from a week-end cabinet meeting in Paris, where he had learned that the franc was balanced on the edge of the gold standard very precariously. The French delegation led in demanding instant adjournment and passage of a resolution censuring Roosevelt, one for which the angry mood of the conference assured a majority vote. Hull, unhappy though he was, fought this proposition stubbornly. Aided by Canada, others of the Dominions, and Scandinavia, on July 5 he secured overnight deferment of the adjournment question, which was up before the small steering committee.

Next morning Hull pled with this group, in a small room adjacent to the conference hall, while reporters milled about outside in the corridor. As Hull begged for delay, Mr. Bullitt walked around the table to Bonnet's seat at the other end, to remind him of his veto of Roosevelt's stabilization offer in April. Would the finance minister like Bullitt to step out into the hall and tell the

⁴³ The British well understood why Roosevelt could not risk tying his hands, according to the F. T. Birchall dispatch to the *New York Times*, June 28, 1933. The complete text of the President's reply was released in London July 3 and printed all over the world. Baruch and Roosevelt did not see each other for a time after this incident. Perkins, p. 201.

press who had killed stabilization in the spring? Bonnet doubted Bullitt could be as mean as that; Mr. Bullitt replied, in effect, that he could. Pondering this challenge, Bonnet rose when Hull had done; he withdrew the resolution of censure. The conference adjournment was postponed until July 27, giving tempers time to cool but making little dent in the agenda.⁴⁴

Privately and in public prints, especially on the Continent and among gold factions in England and America, much blame was heaped upon Roosevelt for "torpedoing" the conference. Actually, in view of the attitude of all the nations from the outset, there is much room for doubt whether the conference would have accomplished anything even if Roosevelt had accepted the final and weakest draft of an agreement. International co-operation upon exchange stability still seemed too much of a threat to the freedom of political leaders to manipulate economic factors in response to popular demand.

The President, in self-defense, insisted that the conference had not been wholly barren of accomplishment; there had been an exchange of views, and so forth.⁴⁵ To one who views the 1933 World Monetary and Economic Conference over the debris of World War II, its principal effect seems to have been to move the nations in a direction contrary to that recommended in the agenda. Instead of easing the adjustment of international diplomacy to the new imperium of internal economic stability, it made reconciliation more difficult. It spurred nationalism in Britain, France, and the United States, with each of them searching out new devices for the waging of economic warfare. For lack of co-operation, they lost precious time and resources, ultimately needed in the confrontation of the Nazis, whose arch manipulator, Hjalmar Schacht, perfected monetary diplomacy as a means to a militaristic state.⁴⁶

The use of monetary diplomacy for the opposite purpose—to thwart dictatorship and aggression—was destined to become an outstanding development in the next decade. American diplomacy came to pivot around a stabilization objective; American diplomacy strove to help other nations to adjust their economies to changing world conditions, in order the better to preserve America's own prosperity and safety.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

⁴⁴ *Memoirs of Cordell Hull*, I, 246-69; Mr. Bullitt's recollection as told to the author (see note 14). Senator Pittman had opportunity to complete a silver agreement by which other powers co-operated somewhat and the United States did a good deal to raise the price of silver; but this was not, technically, a conference document, and the European powers considered it a very minor matter.

⁴⁵ Such modest achievements as were found in the conference by hopeful observers of that moment were summarized in "Barren Harvest," *London Economist*, July 29, 1933, p. 215, and in M. S. Stewart, "The Work of the London Economic Conference," *Foreign Policy Reports*, IX (Nov. 8, 1933), 198.

⁴⁶ Schacht had participated in the Washington conversations, attended the London conference, and neglected few opportunities to exploit the situation.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Rank and Status among Massachusetts Continental Officers

SIDNEY KAPLAN

THE regions south of the Rio Grande have usually been cited as classic American areas of military intervention in political affairs—of officer *Putsch* and *coup d'état*. Yet, considerably before the time of the *caudillo*, on the highlands of the Hudson in the cantonments of the Northern Army of the Revolution, commissioned gentlemen plotted to capture the governmental apparatus of the first American republic. Although the plot aborted—it seems inevitable only in hindsight that it should have—the Newburgh Addresses stand even today as cogent historic warnings to the living and unborn. Moreover, a currently significant aspect of the cabal still remains to be explored. What made Armstrong and his colleagues so confident that there was unity and *esprit* enough among the officers of the army to ensure the success of their dangerous adventure? Although, as is well known, many facets of the affair are enveloped in mystery and debate, this brief examination of the birth and early history of the officer corps of the Massachusetts line of the Continental Army will perhaps furnish an inkling of an answer.

When the logic of events had finally persuaded Americans that they must exchange arguments for arms, Massachusetts it was that gave a groping Congress the nucleus of its first army. In the years of war that followed, the loud declaimers and the quiet listeners who had seen good sense in Sam Adams' *principiis obsta* made up the largest contingent of the Continental Army. In command of the fluctuating Massachusetts enlistment of nearly 68,000 privates, corporals, and sergeants were approximately 480 officers, comprising about one fifth of the commissioned personnel of the line. A few had been professional or semiprofessional soldiers, but the great majority had smelled their only powder at militia turnouts on village greens. From all the walks of New England life these "train-band captains" came together to officer the new, makeshift army. Farmers of varying degrees of prosperity were most numerous among them; but tailors and innkeepers, tanners and lawyers, hatters and Harvard graduates, schoolmasters and merchants were also present in all the grades.¹ From elements so diverse as these could a corps—with *esprit de corps*—be fashioned?

¹ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the*

From the beginning the officers hailing from the Bay Colony held high rank in the Continental Army. Of the ninety-four general officers of the line, twelve were from Massachusetts. Among the seven major generals appointed by the Continental Congress prior to the Declaration of Independence, Artemas Ward—"first major general" under Washington—and John Thomas played important parts in the early days of alarm and excursion; among the eleven native major generals appointed after the Declaration and serving to the end of the war, William Heath, Benjamin Lincoln, and Henry Knox were key figures. Heath, second in command to Washington, headed the Northern Army in the cantonments on the Hudson toward the end of the war; Lincoln, first occupant of the war office of the Confederation, would later command the troops raised by Governor Bowdoin to suppress the insurgent Shaysites; and the artilleryman Knox, after succeeding Lincoln in 1785, would become Washington's first secretary of war. Thus, in quality and quantity, Massachusetts men were bound to stand out among the 2,400-odd officers of the Continental line.² Matured, also, by their activity of the preceding decade in the forcing-bed of Massachusetts politics, and seasoned, if only slightly, as organizers of the first formal warfare of the Revolution in the environs of Boston, it is not at all surprising that the Bay Colony officers should appear among the energetic champions of a united officer interest during and after the years of the war.

Yet, from another point of view it might be argued that Massachusetts was the state least likely to furnish leadership to a distinct officer party. In the South, plantation life created petty autocrats accustomed to give orders, and New York had its patroons; but the dominant New England pattern of modest farm and democratic town meeting produced little of the fact or mood of command. No sharp cleavage between officers and men prevailed in the rural militia of Massachusetts; indeed, the private's company officers must not infrequently have been his close friends or even his economic inferiors.³

War of the Revolution (Washington, 1914), p. 532. A cursory survey of the backgrounds of some fifty officers (comprising about 10 per cent of the Massachusetts corps but not altogether representative of it, because they were all members later of the Society of the Cincinnati) reveals among them grocers, cordwainers, cabinetmakers, brick-masons, house painters, coopers, hardware clerks, doctors, shipbuilders, surveyors, master-mariners, and ministers' sons. Frank Smith, ed., *Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati* (Boston, 1931), *passim*.

² Of the five brigadier generals in the original establishment, three (Pomeroy, Heath, and Knox) were from Massachusetts. Pomeroy, the first appointed, did not accept, but served as a militia officer until his death at Peekskill in 1777. Edmund C. Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York, 1941), pp. 77-78; Heitman, *passim*. Nevertheless, John Adams wrote to Henry Knox in August, 1776: "I am very much chagrined that the Massachusetts has not its Proportion of general officers. . . . It will never do, for Massachusetts to furnish so many Men, and have so few Generals while so many other States furnish so few Men and have so many Generals." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, LVI (1946), 212.

³ Charles K. Bolton, *The Private Soldier under Washington* (New York, 1902), p. 127.

The manner in which the "Massachusetts army" had come into being accentuated this equalitarian tendency. In October, 1774, the provincial congress, pressed by events, had directed the existing militia companies of the colony to "meet forthwith" for the purpose of electing new officers—who were further ordered to choose field officers to command the respective regiments. The field officers so chosen were then to detach at least one quarter of the rank and file of the existing companies and to enlist them into new units of at least fifty privates each. Nine such companies, after electing their captains and lieutenants, were to form a battalion whose field officers would be chosen by the constituent company officers. The military pyramid thus rested firmly on a broad, elective base. The soldiers "will not inlist," reported Washington to Congress at the end of 1775, "until they know their Colonel, Lt. Colonel, Major, Captain, &ca." We "*severally* consent"—so begins a Massachusetts enlistment blank used to recruit men for the service of the "United American Colonies"—"to be formed by such Person or Persons as the General Court shall appoint, into a Company of Ninety Men, including one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, four Serjeants, four Corporals, one Drum, and one Fife, to be elected by the Company and commissioned by the Council." And four years later an aide of Washington's would remark the fact that in Massachusetts the leading members of the legislature were meeting with "the greatest difficulty in getting a majority of the Country members" to place Bay State troops under Continental officers not of their own choice. "You can't meet a man of any Influence from the Country," he bemoaned, "but he'll tell you that they never shall be able to raise their men unless they appoint their officers."⁴

By the first week of December, 1774, the Provincial Congress had appointed five general officers—Preble, Ward, Pomeroy, Thomas, and Heath—and in April, 1775, resolved to raise 30,000 troops, more than a third of them within the colony, for "the Massachusetts army." When, in July, Major General Artemas Ward relinquished command to Washington, the old Bay Colony militia system, with further equalitarian adaptations to the unprecedented emergency, was the basis of military organization for the new national army.⁵

It was a system well calculated to produce fraternization between officers and men. "On entering the camp near Boston," commented General James Wilkinson in his *Memoirs*, "I was struck with the familiarity which prevailed

⁴ William Lincoln, ed., *The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1838), pp. 33-34; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799* (Washington, 1931-40), IV, 83; David Cobb to Henry Jackson, June 8, 1780, cited in Gaillard Hunt, *Fragments of Revolutionary History* (New York, 1892), pp. 148-51; Bolton, p. 30.

⁵ Lincoln, pp. 33-35, 64, 120-29, 148, 247.

among the soldiers and officers of all ranks; from the colonel to the private, I observed but little distinction"—nor was military discipline conspicuous. From general down, noted a Connecticut captain, John Chester, the Bay Colony officers seemed to fear that their troops would brook no authority; and most of the companies of the province, he added, were "commanded by a most Despicable set of officers." Some of the officers even pooled their pay with their men and from the common pot all drew equal shares.⁶ Toward the end of 1775, Thomas Lynch of South Carolina, after expressing satisfaction to Washington that Congress had increased the pay of officers, rather hoped that the general would no longer suffer his officers "to sweep the Parade with the skirts of their Coats or bottoms of their Trowsers, to cheat or mess with their men, to skulk in battle or sneak in Quarters." In October, 1776, Joseph Reed, adjutant general of the army, was scandalized by the sight of a captain of horse from Connecticut, an aide to the general, "shaving one of his men on the parade near the house." Reed confided to his wife that it was "impossible for any one to have an idea of the complete equality" which existed between officers and men. Where "the principles of democracy so universally prevail, where so great an equality and so thorough a levelling spirit, predominates," he continued, "either no discipline can be established, or he who attempts it must become odious and detestable." The Pennsylvanian Alexander Graydon—something of a snob—reminiscing thirty-five years later about his experiences with New England troops in New York, recalled "no less a personage" than Colonel Rufus Putnam, chief engineer of the army, returning to quarters with his rationed piece of meat in hand. "So far from aiming at a deportment which might raise them above their privates," observed Graydon, "and thence prompt them to due respect and obedience of their commands, the object was, by humility, to preserve the existing blessing of equality." Graydon could see nothing but levelism and venality in the New Englanders, although he did except the regiment of fishermen from Marblehead. Yet even in Glover's outfit "there were a number of negroes, which, to persons unaccustomed to such associations, had a disagreeable, degrading effect."⁷

⁶ James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times* (Philadelphia, 1816), I, 16; Bolton, p. 132; Louis C. Hatch, *The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army* (New York, 1904), p. 14. An opposite situation, which nevertheless must have been based on familiarity, was described by Washington in a letter to the president of the provincial council on August 7, 1775: "By the General Return made to me for last Week I find there are great Numbers of Soldiers and nonCommissioned Officers, who absent themselves from Duty, the greater part of which, I have reason to believe are at their respective homes in different Parts of the Country; some employed by their Officers on their Farms." Fitzpatrick, III, 406.

⁷ Burnett, p. 107; William B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (Philadelphia, 1847), I, 243; Anon. [A. Graydon], *Memoirs of A Life, Chiefly Passed in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburgh, 1811), p. 131.

In Washington's opinion, fraternization of the Massachusetts type was a deadly sin against military efficiency. Innovation in the infant American army, in the ascertainable view of its political and military leaders, was apparently not to be included in revolutionary aims. Where innovation did perforce occur it was the result of the exigencies of unpreparedness—especially the need for rapid recruitment—or of popular demand. The political revolution needed a military tool; in the judgment of those who held high rank and who had studied the art of war at first hand the British and Prussian armies of the day represented the highest development of contemporary military science. Therefore, the closest approximation in America to the style of Old World establishments was the military desideratum. In these armies the officer corps, drawn preferentially from the upper classes, constituted privileged castes between which and the common soldiery there yawned a wide gulf.⁸ True enough, the higher ranks among the Massachusetts officers might temporarily condone (or even abet, as did Rufus Putnam) equalitarian practices—but only to hurry an army into the field as quickly as possible. Officers ought to “exercise every kind of Lenity to the Soldiers that is consistent with Discipline,” suggested Lieutenant Colonel David Cobb to Colonel Henry Jackson of the 16th Massachusetts in June 1780, “as you’ll thereby endear the soldiery to you and induce numbers to return with pleasure from desertion to service under you; it will likewise take off the curse of slander that is now pervading all the Country Towns [in Massachusetts], that the Continental officers are so cruel and severe that the men can never be got to serve under ’em.”⁹ Despite such forced and temporary concessions, however, it is not out of the way to suppose that Putnam and his colleagues brought with them into the new army the European tradition of an aristocratic division between officers and men.

In point of fact, it is probable that Washington himself would not have been chosen to head this new army had he not been, in the material sense, a gentleman; indeed to many in the Congress his landed wealth and social stature were at first better known than his military talent. A particular army is the product of a particular kind of society, and America was, of course, in many ways, still very much a part of England. On a “General in *America*,” wrote the provincial congress of New York to its delegates at Philadelphia, “fortune also should bestow her gifts, that he may rather communicate lustre to his dignities than receive it, and that his country in his property, his

⁸ See John C. Miller's discussion of the qualifications for command of Howe and Burgoyne: “Sir William Howe enjoyed the family background and social prestige necessary to a British general. . . . Sir John Burgoyne, the youngest of the major generals, was a fashionable man about town.” *Triumph of Freedom, 1775-1783* (Boston, 1948), pp. 43-44.

⁹ Hunt, p. 149.

kindred, and connexions, may have sure pledges that he will faithfully perform the duties of his high office, and readily lay down his power when the general weal shall require it." In this view John Adams did not at first concur. Writing to Gerry in June, 1775, on the struggle in Congress over the choice of a commander in chief, he observed that those ideas of equality which were so agreeable to New Englanders were "very disagreeable to many Gentlemen" in the colonies to the southward; the "Gentlemen" had held "a great opinion of the high importance of a continental general, and were determined to place him in an elevated point of light." But Adams changed his mind. "A general officer," he observed to Major General Greene in August of the following year, "ought to be a gentleman of letters and general knowledge, a man of address and knowledge of the world. He should carry with him authority and command"; such had been Thomas Mifflin and Lord Stirling—the former, "a Gentleman of family and fortune in his Country," the latter, a person "distinguished by fortune, family, and the rank and employments he held in civil life."¹⁰

Now Washington was both the embodiment and proponent of this point of view, which, transformed early into policy, powerfully counteracted the leveling tendencies of the New England militia background. In September, 1775, forwarding to Congress a petition for increased pay drawn up by the subalterns at Cambridge, he noted warmly that their "inadequate" allowance was "one great source of that Familiarity between the Officers and Men, which is incompatible with Subordination and Discipline." A year later from the Heights of Harlem, urging a general increase in officer pay as would "induce gentlemen of character and liberal sentiments to engage," he observed again that while all were "mixed together as one common herd" and while soldiers regarded their officers as equals—obeying them no more than they would broomsticks—neither order nor discipline could prevail. The key was pay: that "respect" which was "essentially necessary to due subordination" could not flourish if the officers were impoverished; therefore, he concluded, they "ought to have such allowances" as would enable them "to live like, and support the Characters of Gentlemen." Once more, a fortnight later, advising Heath on the selection of Massachusetts officers, he urged him to prefer men who had "endeavored to support the Character of Officers," and who had not "placed themselves upon a level with the common Soldiery." The theme of discipline is indeed dominant; yet the note intrudes that only "gentlemen" can be disciplinarians. "I earnestly recommend to you to be

¹⁰ Miller, pp. 22, 61; Peter Force, ed., *American Archives* (Washington, 1837-53), 4th Series, II, 1281-82; Fitzpatrick, III, 508; Charles F. Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850-56), I, 251-52.

circumspect in your choice of Officers, take none but Gentlemen," he lectured George Baylor, the colonel of a Virginia cavalry regiment in January, 1777.¹¹

Washington not only wrote letters on the problem. From the time of his appearance at Cambridge it was a primary point with him that the equalitarian tendency had to be rooted out, that in the interests of discipline officers were to be considered a distinct military and social group. "There is great overturning in the camp, as to order and regularity. New lords new laws," observed Reverend William Emerson, a few days after the commander in chief's arrival. Washington and Lee were now "upon the lines every day. . . . The strictest government is taking place, and great distinction is made between officers and soldiers. Every one is made to know his place and keep in it, or be tied up and receive thirty or forty lashes according to his crime." The chaplain did not exaggerate. "Moses Pickett, soldier in Captain Merritt's company, in Colonel Glover's regiment," so reads an item in general orders of the Cambridge headquarters for September 15, 1775, "tried at a general court-martial for disobedience of orders and damning his officer, is found guilty, and sentenced to receive thirty lashes upon his bare back, and afterwards drummed out of the regiment."¹²

Nor did Washington use corporal punishment alone to gain his end. A variety of measures was employed to point up the distinction between officers and men. Since officers had no distinctive uniform, the commander in chief ordered that the various grades don ribbons or cockades of different colors.¹³ And this was only the beginning. "The General observing great

¹¹ Fitzpatrick, III, 508; VI, 106-109, 186, 483. The problem of familiarity and discipline was a pressing one at this time and was discussed in top circles not only in Massachusetts but also throughout the country. Charles Lee wrote to Benjamin Rush on October 10, 1775, that while "the present miserable pittance" was "indeed a fortune to the low wretches who live like the common soldiers and with the common soldiers . . . men who chuse to preserve the decent distance of officers must have a decent subsistence, and without this distance, no authority or respect can be expected." On October 24, 1775, Stephen Moylan, muster-master general of the army, in a letter to Washington spoke of the "spirit of equality" which reigned throughout the country, so that an officer was "afraid of exerting that authority necessary for the expediting his business." On November 13, 1775, the day after the capitulation of Montreal, Montgomery wrote to Schuyler: "I wish some method could be fallen upon of engaging *gentlemen* to serve. A point of honor, and more knowledge of the world to be found in that class of men, would greatly reform discipline and render the troops much more tractable." On July 6, 1776, Colonel Weissenfels wrote to Lord Stirling: "Captain *Hutchins* has refused to assist me in quelling the mutiny in his company. I have frequently advised him not to put himself on the level with his men; but he continues to do so, which is the cause of his not exercising authority in a becoming manner." Force, 5th Series, I, 41; Worthington C. Ford, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (New York, 1889-93), III, 250-51.

¹² Jared Sparks, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Boston, 1834-37), III, 491; Charles C. Smith, ed., *The Orderly Book of Colonel William Henshaw of the American Army, April 20-Sept. 26, 1775* (Boston, 1877), p. 81.

¹³ Fitzpatrick, III, 338-39, 357. On July 14, 1775, general orders instructed the commander in chief to wear a "light blue Ribband," majors and brigadiers a "Pink Ribband," and aides-de-camp, "a green riband." Evidently these distinctions were not clear enough, for on July 23 additional "Badges of Distinction" were ordered: "the Field Officers may have *red or pink* colour'd Cockades in their Hatts: the Captains *yellow or buff*: and the Subalterns *green*."

remissness, and neglect, in the several Guards in and about the Camp," proclaimed general orders on July 14, 1775,

orders the Officer commanding any Guard to turn out his Guard immediately upon the near Approach of the Commander in Chief or any of the General Officers, and upon passing the Guard; The Commander in Chief is to be received with *rested Arms*; the Officer to salute, and the Drums to beat a march: The Majors General with *rested Arms*, the Officer to salute and the Drums to beat two Ruffles; the Brigadiers General with *rested Arms*, the Officer to salute and the Drums to beat one Ruffle.

Washington's attitude was reflected in all parts of the army. At Ticonderoga in October, 1776, general orders published to the troops announced that one Lieutenant Whitney, having been court-martialed "for infamous conduct in degrading himself by voluntarily doing the duty of an Orderly Serjeant, in violation of his rank as an officer," was sentenced to be severely reprimanded at the head of his brigade. In January, 1779, at Providence, Captain David Dexter of the 2d Rhode Island, found guilty by brigade court-martial "for behaving unbecoming the Carracter of an Officer, and a Gentleman, in frequently associateing, with the Waggon Master of the Brigade," was discharged from the service, as was Lieutenant Price of another regiment "for associateing with the Waggon Master, and Forage Master of the Brigade."¹⁴

Thus, rugged democrats among the officers were squelched. Nor does it seem that Washington was ever greatly impeded—either by Congress or by the army—in his policy of fashioning rods of discipline out of commissioned gentlemen. Indeed, within the Massachusetts corps were high-ranking officers who saw eye to eye with him from the start—like Henry Knox, for instance, who had earlier complained to John Adams of "the popular plan for raising a new army," and had confessed to his brother in September, 1776, that the army as it stood was only "a receptacle for ragamuffins."¹⁵

Many other forces also operated to mold the heterogeneous social stocks of the Massachusetts officer corps into a unity, if only temporary, on the military level. There was, for instance, the disparity in pay between officers and soldiers. Washington, it is true, at the end of the war, would suggest that this disparity had been overcome in the final settlement, claiming that all things considered—the large bounties handed to recruits in some states, grants of land, adjustments or arrearages in pay, and the soldier's bonus of \$80—the total reward of the rank-and-filer had equaled in value the officer's commutation. But it is difficult to accept his opinion as valid, especially when it is recalled that commutation awarded \$1,200 to an ensign and \$9,960 to a major general, that an infantry private drew \$6 $\frac{2}{3}$ per month

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 358; Force, 5th Series, II, 1082; Edward Field, ed., *Diary of Colonel Israel Angell* (Providence, 1899), pp. 36–37.

¹⁵ Francis S. Drake, *Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox* (Boston, 1873), p. 31.

(mattresses, \$8 $\frac{2}{3}$) compared with an ensign's \$20 and a colonel's \$75, and that Congress granted bonuses of land to veterans of the Revolution according to rank.¹⁶

Suffice it to state at this point, however, that before the war was well under way the equalitarian tendencies in the Massachusetts civil and military background, if not completely obliterated, were effectively throttled and the way cleared psychologically and materially for the organization of the corps as a distinct social and economic entity in conscious pursuit of its special interest. The Newburgh Addresses, directed to such a group by its adventurist members at the end of the war, might be certain of a hearing.

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¹⁶ Fitzpatrick, XXVI, 492-93.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

VOM URSPRUNG UND ZIEL DER GESCHICHTE. By *Karl Jaspers*. (Zurich: Artemis Verlag. 1949. Pp. 360. Sfs. 9.50.)

THE course itself of history has forced upon our generation a deeper interest in the meaning of history. Its impact has been felt in works of European philosophers and historians, sociologists and theologians, as different in their approach and conclusions as Spengler, Troeltsch, Huizinga, Alfred Weber, Toynbee, Hans Barth, and Croce. The latest work of the Neapolitan philosopher, *Filosofia e storiografia* (Bari, 1949), concludes his many years of research in the two fields with the statement "*La storia trova il suo senso nell'etica*" (History finds its meaning in ethics). Croce stresses the freedom in history, the unpredictable factors, and rejects *a priori* scientific schemes. His philosophy of history is an open philosophy, as is Toynbee's or Jaspers'.

Karl Jaspers, for many years professor of philosophy at Heidelberg, now holds a chair at the University of Basel, Jacob Burckhardt's home. He started as a student of medicine and became well known as a psychiatrist before he turned to philosophy. His friendship for Max Weber early awakened in him an interest for the intellectual and political situation of contemporary mankind. His latest work, *On the Origin and Goal of History*, represents an amplification of his famous *Die Geistige Situation der Zeit*, which was published in 1931 and appeared in English as *Man and the Modern Age* (1933). Both books refer to the present, but the new book sees the present in historical perspective and is an important contribution not only to the philosophy of history but to the vision of universal history.

The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with the past, and there Jaspers finds in the period between 800 and 200 B.C. the decisive "axis-period" of history when man as we know him today was born. During those centuries man became simultaneously conscious of himself in China, in India, and in the eastern Mediterranean Occident. Human existence became the object of reflection, and at the same time there grew up a consciousness of a preceding long history. "In the very beginning of this awakening of the specifically human spirit man is conscious of being the heir of history." The further development of mankind has been a recollection and a reawakening of the potentialities of the axis-period, an ever renewed return to that beginning, a renaissance.

The second part of Jaspers' new book deals with the present and the future. The present age originated in the Occident with modern science, modern technology, and political liberty. Here, in his discussion of the potentialities of the future out of the present, Jaspers treats the burning questions of socialism and of world order with an insight and a responsibility which will make the reading a memorable and encour-

aging experience. Less successful appears the final part which is characteristically also the shortest section. It concerns itself with the meaning of history at a time when historical methods have gained a precision never known before while the concept of a closed system of history, *ein übersehbares Ganzes*, has been abandoned. There is for us no Archimedean point outside of history. We are always in it. The unity of history is no longer history. To conceive this unity, means to transcend history. But in the contemplation of the great works of history, we feel the tie with the source of all history. Thus history itself becomes the way to the suprahistorical to which there leads no road but through history.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

AMERIGO VESPUCCI E SUAS VIAGENS. By *Thomaz Oscar Marcondes de Souza*. [Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, Universidade de São Paulo, Boletim No. CV, História da Civilização Brasileira, No. 10.] (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo. 1949. Pp. 313.)

THE LEGACY OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS: THE HISTORIC LITIGATIONS INVOLVING HIS DISCOVERIES, HIS WILL, HIS FAMILY, AND HIS DESCENDANTS. In two volumes. Compiled from Archives in Spain, France, and the Americas by *Otto Schoenrich*. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1949. Pp. 349; 320. \$25.00.)

THE two greatest explorers of their time—the one who made “the first effective discovery” of the New World, and the other for whom it was named—continue to engage the interest of investigators.

The Marcondes de Souza volume is a competent presentation, for the benefit of the Portuguese-speaking world, of the existing state of scholarly opinion regarding Vespucci. Its erudition is wide-ranging. The bibliography and the opening chapter constitute a well-balanced survey of the history of Vespucci criticism, and the last three paragraphs (p. 31) try to bring it down to date by mentioning the 1944 volume of Pohl (“a great panegyrist of the Florentine”), the 1947-48 articles of Admiral Gago Coutinho criticizing Pohl severely, and the 1948 volume of Roberto Levillier, who accepts as historical the 1497-98 voyage of Vespucci to the New World.

The historical arguments of Marcondes de Souza, conveniently summarized in French and in English on pages 198-200, are based entirely on the revolutionary criticism of Alberto Magnaghi (1924) and appear to make no progress beyond him. The account of the fourth Vespuccian voyage, for example, which probably has more significance than Magnaghi assigned to it (see this *Review* for July, 1946, p. 695), receives a very scanty treatment on page 60. The 200 pages of exposition are followed by 113 pages of illustrative documents, all but one of them translated into Portuguese. There is no index in the sense in which North Americans understand the term; the “Indice” is a mere table of contents.

Of much greater originality is the massive work by Schoenrich. This has a real index of thirty-two pages. It has thirty-four plates, many of them showing scenes of great beauty connected with the history of Columbus and his descendants. In an appendix it summarizes and locates twenty-three of the key documents in the succession of lawsuits conducted by his heirs. But these are only the trappings. The work itself is a skillful and fascinating account of those lawsuits. Though written by a lawyer and judge of fifty years' experience, it is no legal brief but tells the story in simple, vivid language for the layman.

It proceeds on the principle of widening circles. First there is a seven-page chapter on "Why the Columbus Family Went to Court. Nature of the Family Lawsuits," summarizing the whole three hundred years of controversy. Part I then devotes five chapters to "Litigation with the Crown," starting with the Columbus Capitulations of 1492. This was a loosely drawn contract by which the discoverer, if the bargain had ever been enforced, would have become a greater sovereign by far than the king and queen who sponsored him. That, no matter how legal, would have been unreasonable. Because of these unforeseen consequences, and also because Columbus proved to be quite inadequate as a colonial ruler, the Spanish crown, by a succession of necessary though not especially admirable repudiations, went back on its contract point by point until the descendants of Columbus were receiving only a fraction of their theoretical rights. Actually this fraction was still large, both in dignity and in emoluments. But finally in 1898, when the United States liquidated the overseas possessions of Spain, all payment of revenues from the New World to the Columbus heirs was cut off. Later, however, the family received a pension paid from purely Spanish funds. Thus ends the long contest with the crown.

Next, Part II devotes ten chapters to "Inheritance Litigation." Not merely did the Columbus heirs struggle with the crown for their rights, but the various branches of the family struggled with one another as to which had prior claim. This dispute also went on for centuries. Christopher Columbus intended to hand down his honors and emoluments as an indivisible estate to the eldest male heir. In 1578 the direct male line ceased, and the ensuing lawsuit as to which collateral line should inherit was not finally settled until 1796. The victorious litigant then assumed the titles properly pertaining to the Columbus heir, including that of Grand Admiral and Chief Adelantado of the Indies. His present successor bears the name of Cristóbal Colon, the Spanish equivalent of Christopher Columbus, and a son born in 1949 continues that famous name.

Having taken his readers through these successive legal mazes, Judge Schoenrich adds a remarkable chapter of "Comments on the Lawsuits and the Litigants." This constitutes a keen but fair analysis of the legal and moral principles involved, and at the same time summarizes the entire history. Those who desire a quick briefing on the subject are advised to read this chapter. Those who enjoy a well-told and significant narrative will want to read the whole book.

Cleveland, Ohio

WILLIAM JEROME WILSON

THE COUNTER-RENAISSANCE. By *Hiram Haydn*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1950. Pp. xvii, 705. \$7.50.)

IN this ambitious book Mr. Haydn has sought, as Grierson sought for the seventeenth century, the pattern of thought which characterized the Renaissance. He rejects Burckhardt's view of the period with its emphasis on neopaganism and individualism as unduly romantic; and, on the other hand, he finds Bush (*The Renaissance and English Humanism*) and Tillyard (*The Elizabethan World Picture*) "naïve" for their "insistence upon whitewashing the Elizabethans (in the interest of twentieth-century Christian humanism) into grave and orderly men and sober artists, most of whose work was essentially didactic and conservative" (p. 4). Mr. Haydn, presuming greater sophistication, does not deny the existence of the broad structure of traditional thought in the Renaissance, but he prefers to put the main emphasis on the "rebels" from it. His main interest is in the common denominators of revolt, and he demonstrates the existence of an extensive opposition to intellectualism, to the accustomed systemizations of the universe, to "right reason" and "virtue" as the basis of human conduct—in general, to the classical-Christian cultural inheritance of the Renaissance. He shows that Continental writers of such widely divergent views as Machiavelli, Pico, Agrippa, Vives, Luther, Calvin, Bodin, Bruno, and Montaigne were nevertheless of a common mind in their disposition toward empiricism and skepticism, in their insistence on things as they are, and in their interest in observation and experiment. On this evidence, he seeks to establish a counter-Renaissance and through it an explanation of the dichotomy he finds in Elizabethan thought. Thus, in Raleigh's *History of the World* he detects a sense of "muted affirmation" of traditional moral values, whereas in *The Passionate Man's Pilgrimage* he feels "an almost insolent strain of assertiveness," in *The Lie* a repudiation of "the very bases of the Christian-humanistic world view," and in *The Cabinet Council* "a political ethic of pure expediency" (pp. 5-6). Hence, the failure to reconcile these two modes of thought creates "the paradox of the enigmatic Elizabethans" (p. 15).

As a contribution to the history of ideas, Mr. Haydn's book bears the usual merits and defects of the genre. These merits are considerable, chiefly in the dissident opinion that he has gathered to support his thesis that all was not settled by Aristotle, Cicero, and Aquinas. His discussion of *Lear* as a Stoic play (pp. 107-108) and of the Golden Age theme in *As You Like It* (pp. 510-12) are cases in point. It might well be asked if acceptance of Anglicanism would make Donne less a Thomist than before (p. 112), but in general, Haydn's grasp of the intellectual issues of the sixteenth century is both broad and discriminating.

As in other works of this type, the great work of Lovejoy and Boas has been a notable catalytic, specifically in his discussion of primitivism in the Renaissance. But in lesser hands, the limitations of the method also become apparent. Careful though Mr. Haydn is to make clear that none of the figures he deals with is consistent in his opposition to the principles of Christian humanism, the whole temper of the book suggests a far more consciously co-ordinated resistance to tradition than the

evidence warrants. He speaks repeatedly and loosely of "the leaders" of the Counter-Renaissance, and of the Counter-Renaissance as a "movement." This impression is strengthened by florid and at times overworked rhetoric which obscures rather than clarifies his point. The "rebels" proceed from "shrewd, hard-headed thrusts at man's vulnerable points" and preliminary "sniping" to a "real attack" opening "in the Italian sector" (Pomponazzi), continuing with a "volley of cartridges" that "do not bear the trademark of Geneva" (Calvin), "but of Padua" (again Pomponazzi). "There is firing going on over in Florence" (Machiavelli), but "Guicciardini's machine gun, leveled in the same direction, carries the objective." This "total war" shifts to "the northern front" where Le Roy and Bodin carry on the struggle (pp. 412-13). When this rhetorical obfuscation is penetrated, the reader discovers certain individuals with special purposes, Machiavelli and Guicciardini in Italy, Luther in Germany, and Calvin in Switzerland, attacking the law of nature as it applied to human conduct in medieval Christian thought. It is by no means to deny Machiavelli's scornful rejection of traditional theories of statecraft to say that, unlike the Counter-Reformation, which was carried on by a consciously cohesive group, the Counter-Renaissance as a concerted action is a historical fiction not existent outside the pages of Mr. Haydn's book. It is a curious "movement" in which the persons composing it do not know each other; and remembering the chorus of voices raised in protest to Machiavelli, we are tempted to create at once a counter movement to the Counter-Renaissance. In England, except for John Donne and Francis Bacon, who conform on the whole to Haydn's pattern, the speculative thought of most Elizabethans, to pursue his metaphor, is well camouflaged by the commonplaces of Christian humanism.

Mr. Haydn pursues the history of ideas magisterially. He expresses a cavalier and open contempt for "that austere body, the Spenserians," to whom he leaves the job of rounding out conclusions to his comments on Spenser's concept of nature (p. 540)—but also the correction of his dating of Spenser's letter to Raleigh (p. 590); he maintains a similar superiority over "Shakespearian scholar-detectives" (p. 631), who may nevertheless inquire who the Antonio of *Measure for Measure* is (p. 658) and doubt if his description of Iago as "an impotent and sexually frustrated man" is an improvement on Coleridge's "motiveless malignity." More serious is Haydn's reversal of Machiavelli's cycle of the state (p. 429); he has it correctly on page 152.

The book suffers from a lack of organization. In his effort to cover the whole intellectual terrain, Mr. Haydn occasionally comes back on his own tracks, and, when he does so, it is not always accurately. There is little need for repeating the chorus of priests from Greville's *Mustapha* (pp. 365, 393) or the familiar "vain opinions, flattering hopes" passage from Bacon's *Of Truth* (pp. 229, 401-402), and a casual reader, coming upon a quotation from Sidney's *Arcadia* three times in the course of seven pages (pp. 586, 591, 593), might well be excused for mistaking as symptomatic of the author's method the six-times-repeated phrase from Donne's *First Anniversary*, " 'Tis all in pieces, all coherence gone." It is hard to avoid the

implication in the fact that on at least two occasions Haydn repeats not only his references but adjacent passages from his own text (pp. 182, 340; 94, 357).

The bibliography is extensive and the author has read widely, but much writing could have been saved, especially in his prologue and in chapter III, section 5, if he had known Victor Harris' recent book on the theory of the decay of nature in the sixteenth century.

University of Maryland

W. GORDON ZEEVELD

CONRAD GREBEL, c. 1498-1526: THE FOUNDER OF THE SWISS BRETHREN, SOMETIMES CALLED ANABAPTISTS. By *Harold S. Bender*. [Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, No. 6: The Life and Letters of Conrad Grebel, Volume I.] (Goshen, Ind.: Mennonite Historical Society. 1950. Pp. xvi, 326. \$3.50.)

ONE of the large number of well-qualified historians who in recent decades have contributed much to our understanding of the Anabaptists, "the step-children of the Reformation," is Harold S. Bender, dean of the Goshen College Biblical Seminary, editor of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, and co-editor of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* and the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*. His definitive biography of Conrad Grebel, the young patrician of Zurich who founded the church of the Swiss Brethren, is a substantially revised translation of the manuscript which he submitted as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Heidelberg in 1935. It will be followed by a second volume containing the writings of Grebel.

On the basis of incontrovertible evidence, the author makes it clear that Grebel was influenced neither by the moralistic Christianity of Erasmus nor by the teachings of the Zwickau radicals and Thomas Müntzer but that he arrived at his doctrines through his association with Zwingli and his study of the Bible as the sole "source of true religion." Furthermore, he proves that Grebel had nothing to do with the Peasants' Revolt but consistently believed in and practiced nonviolence.

The central doctrine of Grebel's theology concerned the church, which he considered a fellowship of truly converted brethren who, with the Bible as the sole standard for their actions, strove for moral perfection and bore the suffering of this world in patience and brotherly love. He taught that baptism symbolized the rebirth of the Christian and his pledge of obedience to Christ. Therefore only adults should be baptized. The Lord's Supper was for him a symbol of the fellowship among the brethren and between them and Christ.

Bender presents a closely reasoned discussion of the parting of ways by Grebel and Zwingli, which began at the time of the second disputation at Zurich in October, 1523. When, on this occasion, the city council showed its determination to postpone action on the abolition of the mass, Zwingli decided to bow to its authority in the practical question of time, hoping that it would act in accordance with the gospel. Grebel, on the other hand, consistently refused to admit that the council had juris-

diction over the affairs of the church. Whereas the decision of Zwingli led to the creation of a Reformed state church in Zurich, that of Grebel marked the beginning of the "free-church" movement of the Anabaptists, with its eventual commitment to the modern Protestant principles of separation of church and state, complete religious freedom, and voluntary church membership.

Historians of the Reformation will appreciate the extensive bibliography, copious notes, well-selected plates, and appended selections from Grebel's writings.

Ohio State University

HAROLD J. GRIMM

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS. By *Robert G. Torbet*. Foreword by Kenneth Scott Latourette. (Philadelphia: Judson Press. 1950. Pp. 538. \$6.00.)

THIS book was written to provide a history of the Baptists which would cover the nearly fifty years since the publication of Albert H. Newman's *History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* and Henry C. Vedder's *Short History of the Baptists*. A comprehensive study, it covers the European and English background for the origin of the Baptists and traces their growth in England, the Continent, America, and on "foreign fields." In the examination of their development due attention is given to the interaction of secular and religious forces. Particular emphasis is placed on the denomination's rise and activities in the United States.

The author is a Baptist, but his approach may be considered objective. Though he used a wide variety of sources, chiefly printed, it is to be regretted that he was unable to consult the rich mass of materials in the Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. His logical and straightforward presentation suffers from the inclusion of much statistical data which might have been summarized in the narrative and given in detail through tables and charts in the appendix. More extended use of the color and drama to be found in the Baptist story, more pen portraits of the leaders, and greater emphasis on the religious life of the rank and file would have lightened his account. This reviewer discovered no reference to William Newton Clarke, whose important influence on liberal Baptist theology is generally recognized. Nor is the role of the institutional church discussed. The format of the book is of better quality than many products of the religious press; the use of illustrations would have added to its attractiveness. The appendixes embrace a Baptist chronology, a "Table of Baptist Bodies," and a list of the denomination's schools and colleges in the United States; there are also a useful bibliography and index.

This history of the Baptists, because of its comprehensive character, scholarship, and recent origin, bids fair to become the standard text in its field. Its appeal to the general reader, however, is less than compelling.

Colgate University

HOWARD D. WILLIAMS

Ancient and Medieval History

ANCIENT SPARTA: A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE. By K. M. T. Chrimes. [Publications of the University of Manchester, No. CCCIV, Historical Series No. LXXXIV.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 527, plates. 45s.)

GREEK writers, from the fourth century onwards, ascribed to Lycurgus almost everything that was peculiar in Spartan institutions. But modern scholars, studying the archaeological material unearthed by the British at Sparta, concluded that many of Sparta's peculiar customs were not introduced until after 600 B.C., and they came to doubt the existence of a great legislator of earlier date. This archaeological evidence seemed to make it clear that Sparta participated in the Greek renaissance of art and letters in the eighth and seventh centuries. Spartan pottery, sculpture, and carving were among the best of their time. Poets were welcomed; trade flourished. After 600 B.C., Corinthian pottery, very common before, becomes rarer. It was supposed that contacts with other Greeks ceased and that a great change in Spartan culture took place at the close of the seventh century.

Miss Chrimes has made a new approach. She has started with a comprehensive study of the numerous inscriptions of the Roman period and has shown that Sparta was still essentially "Lycurgan" in the period after 146 B.C. under the Romans. The new Sparta resembled the old in almost every respect. The ephebic organization was intact, rigid social classes were perpetuated, the constitution remained unchanged. Separate chapters are devoted to a historical analysis of Spartan relations with the Achaean League and with Rome, to a study of the limits of Spartan territory, to the ephebic organization, to the gerusia and magistracies, and, finally, to the part played in Spartan life by the family of C. Julius Eurykles.

With a clearly delineated picture of Sparta in Roman times before her, Miss Chrimes turns in the second half of the volume to the much more obscure subject of the institutional history of the early Sparta. In chapter ix, which is probably the most interesting to the general reader, she rejects the hypothesis of a complete constitutional and social reorganization about 600 B.C. She argues that foreign imports ceased because of the ban on gold and silver coinage. The end of fine pottery is probably to be connected with the failure of inspiration from Corinth. The absence of foreign poets in Sparta after the seventh century may be explained on the assumption that they would not produce their work except for negotiable silver currency. The Lycurgan reforms, rather, are to be dated in 809 B.C. (Thucydides had put the constitution in the late ninth century, and Miss Chrimes obtains a definite year by supposing that 485 was a significant date in Spartan chronology and by counting back twelve generations, reckoning twenty-seven years to a generation; the evidence is scanty.) The main changes thereafter were the transformation of the army from one of light-armed soldiers and cavalry to one composed almost exclusively of hoplites; the development of a system of land tenure controlled by the state; and

the acquisition of control over the *syssitia*, or mess-companies, by the Spartan state. Miss Chrimes concludes that there was originally only a single king, and two ephors instead of five. This reviewer finds no answer given by Miss Chrimes to the question, basic for her argument, as to why Sparta refused to adopt a precious-metal currency; ancients and moderns alike have linked iron money with a system of rigid asceticism which gave power to those who did not belong to the dominant aristocratic class.

Miss Chrimes argues her thesis in detail and with conviction. Since it opposes the accepted conclusions of Wade-Gery, Ehrenberg (I found no reference to the valuable article on Sparta by Ehrenberg, Bölte, and Ziehen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*), Woodward, and others, it will probably not be uncontested. In some of her arguments she does not linger to refute her opponents' views. For example, it is well known that the record of numerous Spartan victories at Olympia in the seventh century is in marked contrast with their absence in the following century. Miss Chrimes states that a late introduction of a "Lycurgan" constitution would have resulted in the reverse score. Reforms in physical training after 600 B.C. should have produced more numerous victories. As a matter of fact, the proponents of the late Spartan reforms have argued with equal cogency that since the old Sparta was less mentally restricted than its successor she gave of her best to peaceful contests in the period before 600 (see, e.g., Jaeger, *Paideia*, I, 97); but not thereafter. Two chapters are in part devoted to showing that Sparta shared a common social structure with other Greek Dorian states in the early period, an important determination. Miss Chrimes's conclusions are based in part (chapter VII) on evidence relating to the cult of Orthia, a good part of which evidence is drawn from Alcman's *Partheneion*. Her interpretation coincides with the most recent study of the poem, by Davison in *Hermes*, 1938: the work was written for a festival of Orthia. This is an able study, but we should have been reminded that competent scholars, including Blass, Bowra, and Diehl, have dissented from this view, in part because the text makes good sense without being altered to the name of Orthia; and we might have been told that the poem has been variously ascribed to festivals of the Dioscuri, Dionysus, and Helen as well as to that of Artemis Orthia.

It is particularly in the field of Spartan inscriptions that Miss Chrimes has done scholarship a great service by her interpretation of vexatious and disputed problems. This reviewer noted one error (p. 93), which results oddly from failure to use the newest (1916) edition of the corpus of Athenian inscriptions. Miss Chrimes here misinterprets the Athenian ephebate system as regards both the meaning of the terms used to denote age-groups and the length of service required (see Kirchner, *ad Inscriptiones Graecae*, II², 958).

University of California, Berkeley

W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT

ALEXANDER DER GROSSE: INGENIUM UND MACHT. By Fritz Schachermeyr. (Graz: Verlag Anton Pustet. 1949. Pp. 535. Sch.I.10.)

THIS is a remarkable book which is likely to arouse much controversy among

specialists. It is an extended and, in the matter of the space allotted to its various parts, well-balanced biography of Alexander by a mature scholar thoroughly conversant with both the ancient sources and the work of his many predecessors. The style, if at times over ornate, is vivid and arresting, especially when the author describes battles and other critical episodes in Alexander's life. If this were all, one would merely record a distinguished addition to the existing literature on the subject. But two circumstances give the book an unusual, not to say provocative, character. Mr. Schachermeyr maintains that most of Alexander's modern biographers have idealized him or at least have glossed over his faults, and his purpose has been to give to his readers what he believes to be a truly realistic portrait. In addition, his interpretation is consciously and profoundly influenced by the recent history of central Europe and his own experiences. His approach to the problem is indicated already in the preface, but it is most fully explained in the last chapter of the book (pp. 467-96), in which he analyzes and tries to evaluate Alexander's character and achievement. He states that there are two types of what he calls "*Machtingenium*," the one combined with moderation or, in other words, with the realization by the individual concerned of his human limitations, the other unfettered. Historical examples of the former type, he adds, were Philip of Macedon, Augustus, Charlemagne, Peter the Great, Prince Eugene, and Bismarck. The other type is represented by the elder Cyrus, Hannibal, Charles XII of Sweden, Napoleon, possibly Wallenstein, certain recent but unnamed dictators, and Alexander.

It is not incumbent on a reviewer to discuss the validity of this classification or of the collocation of historical personages in the two groups, except insofar as Mr. Schachermeyr's presentation of Alexander seems to him to be affected or, more properly speaking, distorted by such preconceptions. The manner in which these dominate the author's mind is apparent throughout the narrative. When Alexander was Aristotle's pupil, we are told (pp. 72-73) on the flimsiest evidence, his greatest passion was for maps and geography. This stimulated his desire to be a conqueror and also gave him (at fourteen years of age!) an outlook on the world very different from the national Macedonian point of view of his father and his father's generals. Episodes like the murder of Cleitus, the trial of Philotas, the conspiracy of the pages, the mutiny on the Beas, are treated with great fullness and much psychoanalysis, in order to emphasize Alexander's steadily growing autocracy and impatience of all restraint, and his ever-increasing belief in himself as the creator of a world empire in which differences of race or nationality would have lost all significance. Again, the visit to Siwah and later episodes recorded in the sources to illustrate Alexander's religious beliefs are used to show how the conqueror became more and more obsessed with the conviction of his own divine origin, so that his lust for conquest and world dominion became a kind of divine mission. But the extremest example of all of Mr. Schachermeyr's interpretations is perhaps his comment on Alexander's action in throwing his own royal cloak over the dead body of Darius. "*Die Mantelumhüllung*," he says, "*symbolisierte nichts geringeres als den Versuch einer Aufhebung des urewigen Gegensatzes zwischen Orient und Abendland.*" In the matter of the ancient sources, the author

relies more heavily on Curtius and Plutarch than other recent historians of Alexander have done. Callisthenes and Cleitarchus, whose reliability recent scholarship has rather impugned, are restored to favor, and Mr. Schachermeyr, rejecting Tarn's arguments for a later date, asserts that Cleitarchus began to collect material soon after Alexander's death and published his *History* not later than 310 (cf. p. 130).

Certainly this is a biography of Alexander in which no discreditable episode has been minimized or suppressed, but to one reader at least it does not carry conviction because he feels that time and time again the "facts" are made to fit a preconceived theory. Still, the book deserves to be widely read; for it is most stimulating and contains many shrewd observations. It is to be hoped, however, that taken as a whole this interpretation will not find general acceptance. The author's erudition is patent, but his point of view is "*verschoben*."

Cornell University

M. L. W. LAISTNER

Modern European History

STAR OF EMPIRE: A STUDY OF BRITAIN AS A WORLD POWER, 1485-1945. By *William B. Willcox*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xiii, 399, xxiii. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Willcox won his spurs as a historical researcher with a monograph on English local government in Gloucestershire in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, published ten years ago by the Yale University Press. In this he was especially interested in the men behind institutions and notably successful in dealing with them. His study in governmental and social history, based mainly on unpublished sources in the British Public Record Office and the Gloucester Public Library, threw considerable light on local government in early Stuart times beyond the boundaries of the particular county with which he was directly concerned.

His latest book belongs to a different genre. It is a work of interpretation, not of research, an extended essay in meaning and significance in modern British history. To present fresh historical data, to make factual discoveries, was no part of his object, and accordingly the bibliographical note which he has appended is confined to a selection from the historical literature, as distinguished from the sources, in the field. From the various secondary works mentioned there are some conspicuous absentees, but the author gives evidence of a wider range of reading than he has indicated. This is not a book to which one would go for facts, though it gives many facts, and therefore occasional errors are not serious blemishes. The statement, however, that the British people in 1940 did not believe they could lose the war "because they had never lost a war" (p. 369) perhaps exceeds the limit of permissible deviation from historical accuracy.

A work of interpretation should obviously be considered as such. Professor Willcox did not intend his book primarily for students, though it could well serve

them as collateral reading in courses in modern British history. We have his word for it that it was meant for as large a part of the American reading public as could be reached without oversimplification. He understands the importance of being interesting and he is gifted with the literary sense needed for keeping a long historical commentary like this afloat. His writing has the order and movement which Buffon declared to be the essence of style; he is a master of felicitous phraseology and epigram.

A few interpretations that appear to me doubtful or defective have been noted. The idea, for example, that for the first two years of the War of the American Revolution military victory in the field was rejected by the British government in favor of a war of blockade raises the question of what Cornwallis was supposed to be doing in New Jersey in 1776. The old view that British colonial policy was liberalized by the American Revolution crops up, but it is not easy to maintain. And in enumerating factors that created sympathy among the British ruling classes for the South during the American Civil War, nothing is said of the desire of opponents of democracy in Britain to discredit the greatest experiment in democracy which the world had seen. It may be, too, that the author's sense of what is important in the present, notably his conviction that the survival of civilization depends principally upon Anglo-American collaboration, has exercised undue influence in his historical interpretation.

In the twentieth century Professor Willcox has to deal, of course, with a story of decline—but of decline without fall. He finds “nothing decadent about the British people of today. . . . They are engaged in writing their next chapter, and it promises to be both lively and significant reading.”

Columbia University

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

REGINALD POLE: CARDINAL OF ENGLAND. By *W. Schenk*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1950. Pp. xvi, 176. \$3.00.)

CARDINAL Pole has been subject to opprobrium because he was the primate of England during the reign of Bloody Mary and did not interpose a finger to mitigate her severities. His complicity in the executions cannot be denied or condoned. At the same time this phase of his career is not the most significant and in all fairness should not alone be recorded. He deserves better to be remembered for his resistance to the absolute pretensions of the totalitarian state, for he did have the courage after some hesitation to withstand unequivocally the royal divorce and the schism from Rome. And if he did not in consequence suffer the fate of More and Fisher he was for twenty years an exile from his native land. Further a despotic sovereign, after the manner now deplorably familiar, struck at Pole in the persons of his family. His brothers and his mother paid the extreme penalty.

His stay in Italy, however, in the early years was not burdensome. As a man of noble blood, refined manners, and scholarly accomplishments he was cultivated in aristocratic circles alike of church and state. The group of his friends and admirers included the first leaders of Catholic reform: persons like Giberti, Sadoletto, Flami-

nio, Morone, Vittoria Colonna, Michelangelo, and Caraffa, a company devoted to learning, art, and moral reformation. Among them were bishops who resisted papal enticements to lure them away from the care of parishes. Among this group with the advancing years Pole came to be regarded as a maestro and frequently even as a confessor. Such indeed was his popularity that he might well have become pope had he been willing to take the least initiative on his own behalf instead of waiting to see whether God required so onerous a service from his servant. Then again perhaps he would not have been elected, for the conclave of cardinals contained many of the frivolous who well realized that if Pole were pope their lives would be exceedingly uncomfortable.

The new incumbent of the papacy died shortly and was succeeded by a member of that early reformatory group, though a man of a very different temper from the others, namely the implacable Caraffa. Whereas Contarini and his party had been concerned primarily to improve morals and were ready to negotiate as to doctrine with the Lutherans, Caraffa instead was minded to pursue both the moral offender and the heretic with equal rigor and if anything to visit the more extreme penalties upon the latter. He would push the revived Inquisition, and for this Pole had no taste. The worst of it was that Caraffa suspected of heresy his former friends, Pole included. Cardinal Morone passed the pontificate of Paul IV in the prisons of the Inquisition, and Pole might have done so likewise had not Mary's accession in England occurred just prior to the purge in Italy. Thus an avenue of escape opened when Pole was appointed papal legate to restore his native land to obedience. This aspect of his task he assumed with enthusiasm, but another aspect was the suppression of heresy at the stake. Since Pole had criticized Caraffa for his inquisitorial severity we may assume that he was not too happy over Mary's exhibition of a similar temper. Yet he who had had the courage to resist a tyrant on the wrong side was not sufficiently stalwart to stand up against a monarch whose tyrannical methods were being used on behalf of a cause with which he did agree.

Pole was a diffident man. Torn between the allurements of a contemplative life and the claims of the active, he displayed heroism only on occasion and was spared by circumstance from the direst consequences. Italy saved him from Henry and England from Caraffa. Two men in his lifetime he had worshipped. The one was Henry VIII and the other was Paul IV, and the first deprived him of his goods and the second suspected him of impiety. This may be said for him, that he attempted in England a reform which had it succeeded might have circumvented some of the asperities of the civil wars.

The book is written in a judicious spirit with evident sympathy for the party of Catholic reform but with no obtrusion of personal judgments. The picture of Pole is drawn from all available evidence, whether printed or in manuscript. His contemporaries are delineated in swift, strong strokes. The style is straightforward and eminently readable.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BANTON

GEORGE III, LORD NORTH, AND THE PEOPLE, 1779-1780. By *H. Butterfield*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (London: G. Bell and Sons; distrib. by British Book Centre, New York. 1949. Pp. xi, 407. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Butterfield's book is restricted to two critical years and thus neither begins at the beginning nor follows through to the end; nevertheless, it is a useful installment of the detailed and intensive study, as yet scarcely begun, which is needed as a basis for an adequate history of the American Revolution. One phase of this history involves a study of the circumstances which brought most of the European powers into a coalition with the colonies against Great Britain. This aspect of the subject, including both the international relations and the domestic circumstances in France, has received considerable attention in the past and in several recent studies. More than one writer has noted lately the need for studies of the growth of a spirit of independence in the colonies severally as a preliminary to consideration of their collective action in favor of independence and in founding a new nation. The circumstances in Great Britain which moved the colonies to rebel and the Continental powers to unite against her offer perhaps the most promising approach for one who would understand the origins and the eventual success of the Revolution, but this phase of the subject is that least studied hitherto.

Professor Butterfield makes it abundantly clear that in the two critical years treated in his book, in spite of (perhaps because of) the aggressive leadership of George III, the British government lacked the ability to attract popular support at home, to win the co-operation of the current political leaders even in the face of a threat of immediate invasion by foreign powers, to retain the good will of traditional allies on the Continent, or to deal effectively with either the rebellious colonies or with Ireland. All these questions came to an issue in these two years. The king was threatened with the dissolution of his government, with popular movements for political and constitutional change propagated by the opponents of his ministers, with the rebellion in Ireland, with a reinforcement of the colonial rebels by French troops and supplies which his fleet could not prevent, and with an actual invasion of his country from France and Spain. While the king thanked heaven that his own "Resolution" rose "with difficulties," the aging admiral whom he summoned from retirement to command the fleet that defended the coast confessed, "My situation is extremely disagreeable; I would give all the little I am worth to be out of it" (p. 58). For more than two weeks the enemy fleet rode in the Channel with Plymouth defenseless in case of attack; the French commander, moved by disease among his own crews, decided not to land and returned to Brest. The king had to spend so much time trying to hold together his unwilling and inadequate ministers that not much energy or wisdom was left for putting down rebellion, whether in the colonies or in Ireland, or for resisting the aggressive opposition at home. His bold stand in suppressing the Gordon riots offered a chance for the dissolution of Parliament and gave his ministers a new lease on such power as they exercised.

Professor Butterfield's book suffers from two weaknesses. It is a by-product of a long-needed study of the career and influence of Charles James Fox. These two years were critical for both Fox and his country, but it is doubtful that a study of Fox affords the best perspective for a more comprehensive understanding of the history of the time. Furthermore, Professor Butterfield wrote in an atmosphere in which conspiracy and accusations of conspiracy were familiar phenomena. He is thus too easily tempted to suspect conspiracy among the groups agitating reform in Great Britain at the time of the American Revolution. He is the first British author to recognize the role of James Burgh in gathering the material and formulating the shibboleths used in the movement for parliamentary reform. But his representation of Burgh as an apostle of quasi-revolutionary action is not convincing to at least one reader who has long studied Burgh's role in the reform movement.

Duke University

W. T. LAPRADE

THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT OF NATAL: A STUDY IN IMPERIAL MIGRATION. By *Alan F. Hattersley*, Professor of History in the University of Natal. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 351. \$3.75.)

ALTHOUGH published as a *pièce d'occasion* (for centennial celebration of British settlement in Natal) this book is a solid contribution to history. A scholarly work by a historian of wide interests, it will be read with pleasure and profit by students interested in the social and economic history of nineteenth century England and the British Empire.

Natal is the smallest of the four provinces which now constitute the Union of South Africa. Annexed in 1843 by the British government, which wished to head off the Boer *voortrekkers* from the coast, it became a separate colony in 1856 but did not attain to responsible government until fifty years after annexation. At that late date (1893) the white population totaled no more than 50,000 because of lavish land grants (6,000 acre farms being common in the forties), absentee and speculative land-holding, and widespread use of nonwhite labor, African and East Indian.

The early British immigration Professor Hattersley describes came mostly between 1848 and 1851. Those who then made their way to Natal from England and Scotland numbered about 5,000, a rather small percentage of the 250,000 per year who were leaving the British Isles in the last part of the hungry forties. Hunger, at this time rampant in England and not yet relieved by repeal of the corn laws, was owing at first to widespread unemployment which followed overexpansion in railway building. Thousands of surveyors, engineers, and workmen were idle; and from the railroads depression soon spread to other industries.

Of those affected, several hundred from London (where the shipping industry feared the imminent repeal of the navigation acts) decided to emigrate to Natal, as did many individuals and family groups in provincial cities, especially in Lancashire, which was naturally interested in the possibility of growing cotton. But it was in

Leeds that the chief promoter of emigration, Joseph C. Byrne, first called the attention of workingmen to the new colony. The widely traveled son of a Dublin cattleman, Byrne was essentially an adventurer. He went bankrupt in September, 1850, but before that he had helped send out 2,500 approved emigrants to Natal. To such people were offered twenty acres of land and passage, at £10, £19, and £35—steerage, intermediate, or cabin class. But even the lowest figure was high at a time when Canada could be reached for £2, and laborers could get to Australia for even less. So very few laborers went to Natal, although some landlords, in Yorkshire for example, encouraged or helped their poorer tenants to go there. Most of the rural emigrants from England seem to have been freeholders: small independent farmers who feared (prematurely as it turned out) the competition of foreign grain, or resented the local tyranny of parson and squire.

Modest and humble folk, the Natal settlers were a cross-section—probably above the average of British emigrants—of pioneers and home builders. Professor Hattersley deals with many families by name and tells in interesting detail how they fared on their journey and in the colony, and what notable contributions they made to the economic, cultural, and constitutional development of Natal.

Willamette University

REGINALD I. LOVELL

THE NAVY AND THE SLAVE TRADE: THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Christopher Lloyd*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 314. \$4.75.)

Mr. Christopher Lloyd, who has written *Lord Cochrane* and also *A Short History of the Royal Navy*, in this brief volume recounts the suppression of the foreign slave trade by the Royal Navy. He describes his vast sources as: "over 1500 volumes of Foreign Office records, the despatches of naval commanders and slave trade commissioners printed in the Parliamentary Papers, frequent debates in both Houses of Parliament, Admiralty instructions, the logs of particular ships, medical reports, the memoirs of serving officers, and descriptions by travellers in remote regions" (p. xiii).

In the debates on the abolition of the English slave trade, the statement was repeatedly made that the suppression of the foreign slave trade would be impossible because foreign powers would relentlessly carry it on, and experienced English bootleggers would help. Among these critics was Lord Castlereagh, who voted against abolition as an impossible achievement and yet found himself for ten years (1812-1822) as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs charged with the job of suppression by diplomatic agreements. The naval squadrons on both the east and west coasts of Africa were often ill-equipped to cope with the speed of clipper ships. In consequence, the great days of the slave trade occurred between 1830 and 1860 when in some years 100,000 Africans were landed on foreign shores. Many Englishmen became convinced that effective suppression of the trade, yielding 24 per cent per annum, was impossible

and demanded the withdrawal of the African squadrons. Antislavery men were thus challenged to invent new methods of suppression. Two developments were responsible for final success. The American Civil War ended a great market and the United States joined heartily in suppression. In Africa, the British proceeded with the annexation of large areas of equatorial Africa, the supply centers of the trade.

In conclusion it may be stated that the diplomatic pressures of the Foreign Office, and the activities of the African squadrons, eventually brought public opinion in Europe and America to the point where governments were willing to close the home market and free their own slaves. In the Western world, the United States and Brazil abolished slavery by different methods, in the one case by war, in the other by gradual, peaceful means. This work is a notable contribution in a virgin field and it is very well done.

University of California, Los Angeles

FRANK J. KLINGBERG

THE ENGLISH MIDDLE CLASSES. By Roy Lewis and Angus Maude. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. ix, 360, xiii. \$3.75.)

THE absorbing and rather awful fact about British Socialism is that it is wholesale experiment. If the collectivists succeed in preserving civilized values in Britain and at the same time in converting population into civilized men and women, well and good; they will not be charged with shooting Niagara. But if they fail, what then? The authors of *The English Middle Classes* pose the question. They suggest their answer in a preface warning Americans against undertaking a similar experiment. We Americans are all middle-class now; at least most of think we are, with some more and some less; and we hope that by means of education, free enterprise, high wages, and mass-produced goods the others will soon be middle-class too. Such expectations are not what democracy tends to mean in Britain today. "The theory of English egalitarianism," Lewis and Maude point out, "has . . . in the past, postulated a process of levelling up, not down; of increasing, not diminishing, the middle classes." Now after more than four years of Socialist rule the authors have taken stock of the results. They find an ideal of social and economic equality, a policy of full employment, and the Welfare State imperiling all classes as well as the ability of the nation itself to survive.

Here is spacious history in a little room. The book by reason of its learning and urbanity is a persuasive tract for the times. The authors have divided their study into four parts: the middle classes and their history from the breakup of feudalism through 1949; their function and principal avocations; examples of their present frustrations; their inauspicious future. The middle classes are wisely allowed their heterogeneity and are not defined more closely than by indicating that they include about 40 per cent of the population. To be middle-class in England, the authors state, is not to conceive of money and material possessions as ends; rather, these are means to the end, that is, to a way of family life itself fashioned by a common doctrine that

has become acceptable to many varied interests. The chapters on the history of the middle classes from the eighties to the present and on the function of the middle classes are as remarkable for their brilliancy and perception as is the chapter on income and expenditure for a shift in method from subjective interpretation to the measurement of want. The authors seem never at a loss for the happiest reference or allusion and by quoting the pertinent from Euripides to the Thirkell herself they drive home their sobering argument. Modern Britain, they contend, is chiefly the creation of the middle classes. Trade and its techniques, the professions, machines and mass production, the collectivist state, overseas investments, the Dominions, and the skills essential to the functioning of the intricate social organization that has necessarily followed, all stem from middle-class initiative and leadership. Most of the nation's best brains (how many have stepped from clerical homes) have been middle-class. The middle ranks have been the civilizing agent in the class structure. These primarily as the eternal opposition have "stood for liberty against the State, upholding Common Law against the Roman code, Parliament against absolutism, militia against standing army, private enterprise against public or private monopoly"; the liberty won for themselves before the law the middle classes extended to all citizens: free trade and the vote; and lest unchecked power within themselves overwhelm cherished freedoms, they have pitted "intellect against money, common sense against intellect, and a tradition of gentility against all three." Finally, the middle classes in their effort to confirm their children in their own culture and to urge them to "do better than we have done" have until lately realized their dearest values: security, independence, initiative, an educated family, and, above all, a Protestant's individual effort. The English middle classes have been the recruiting ground of talent, the "natural ladder" by which most of the nation's talent has climbed to eminence and usefulness.

That natural ladder or order is now in jeopardy; so too are voluntary associations, themselves the "natural" response of free men to discovered needs. Penal taxation (Lewis and Maude like to identify current taxes with vengeance), the disintegration of partnerships, haphazard nationalization, the waning of independence and profit-making, such are weakening that Puritan individualism, the decline of which Halévy used to think had led to decadence. The reader of the book is left wondering whether British left-wing politicians are not, in Burke's phrase, trifling with the condition of mankind. Yet he will wonder too why the authors have chosen to give so little credit for the moral values of the middle classes to the landed gentlemen and certainly why they touch so lightly upon such embarrassments as two world wars and the collapse of Britain's nineteenth century balance of trade have brought upon the middle classes. Nevertheless, their principal contentions are hard to deny. Who in future is likely to "transmit the stored experience of the whole nation in the arts of community and statecraft"? Who will have leisure to create the fundamental thoughts? Who will lead? For a qualitative measure of the good life the Socialist utopians are substituting a quantitative, for the culture of a great minority the culture of the *tertium quid*, for the past the future; but then, pish, Lewis and Maude are Eng-

lish, so English they see that England will "somehow manage" to remain a middle-class nation.

Yale University

LEWIS P. CURTIS

SCIENCE AND RATIONALISM IN THE GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS XIV, 1661-1683. By *James E. King*, Assistant Professor of History, University of North Carolina. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXVI, Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. Pp. 337, xiv. \$3.75.)

THIS volume represents a significant effort to elucidate one of the most fundamental problems in the field of intellectual history, the influence of ideas in society. In the growing literature on this subject, Mr. King's study takes its place among those which uphold the intellectual interpretation of historical causation and present an elaborately documented case history to support this position. It is the thesis of this volume that "science and rationalism" dominated the political and economic thought and administrative practices of the France of Louis XIV, and that this thought, which Mr. King largely equates with Cartesian philosophy and method, was the determinative force which guided Colbert and his royal master in their reorganization of the French government. During the brief but crucial period between 1661 and 1683, to borrow Mr. King's phrases, Louis and his aides cast aside the previous "maxims of confusion" for the new "maxims of order" and definitively superposed upon the older, inefficient institutions of government "a new monarchy, a rational and scientific regime, an administration of reason." The bulk of the volume is devoted to a detailed analysis of the new administrative practices and institutions, in the light of this sweeping interpretation. It is a pioneer work, in the sense that no previous study has undertaken to analyze in such detail the administrative history of the period from this point of view.

It is Mr. King's stated intention not to present new factual information, but rather to attempt a specific interpretation of known materials. In consequence, he has based his study essentially upon secondary sources, published collections of documents, correspondence, and memoirs, largely without further investigation of the extremely extensive primary sources of the period. The quality of his treatment of a given problem thus varies directly with the degree to which it has previously been investigated by other scholars, with the result that the various chapters of the work are correspondingly uneven. The introduction establishes the author's position by defining seventeenth century science and rationalism essentially as Cartesian thought and method extended in time and dominating both the political ideas and the administrative procedure of the period. There follows a brief but important chapter entitled "The Impact of Science and Rationalism on Political Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century." This is the weakest portion of the book, largely because of insufficient investigation of the field. To give brief references to Machiavelli, Bodin, d'Avity, Richelieu, Grotius, Hobbes, and Spinoza does not establish the predomi-

nance of Cartesian rationalism in the political thought of seventeenth century France. Only the most random selection is made of the ideas of these men, without regard for their intellectual systems as a whole; and the great majority of the jurists and theologians, who provided the bulk of contemporary political thought, are ignored. The greater portion of the book, however, is concerned with administrative procedures, and here Mr. King is on firmer ground. After showing adequately that Louis XIV and Colbert were animated by ideals of efficient government and rationally ordered administration, the author devotes two thirds of the volume to an analysis of the newly reorganized administrative system, in an effort to show the influence of the new ideals in practical affairs. This includes chapters on the royal councils, the system of inquiry, records, finances, statutes and reports, economic administration, the military, the law, technical education, and the Academy of Sciences. In such a vast field of inquiry, the treatment of each institution is necessarily restricted to those developments which the author finds relevant to his interpretation. Occasionally, this involves arbitrary selection of materials, yet each portion is generally well handled, within the limits previously mentioned. Regarding the evidence of Cartesian principles in the affairs of government, Mr. King admits that this was frequently limited to an insistence upon "order, common sense, and application." Actually, the thesis of the book is impossible to prove or to disprove. Parallelisms between rationalist thought and administrative policy abound, but direct influence of one upon the other is extremely difficult to prove, except in rare instances. Thus, influence must be largely assumed. However, it must be admitted that within the definitions which the author has stated, he compiles a very impressive weight of evidence.

Finally, Mr. King's construction of his interpretation arbitrarily simplifies the complex history of the period. In the realm of political thought, he finds that the traditionalists, who argued from established law and institutions, favored a limited monarchy, while the rationalists developed an entirely new concept of the national state in which the absolute, irresponsible monarch represented the embodiment of supreme reason. Such a position forces the facts and ignores the great majority of theorists who were at once traditionalists and absolutists. Likewise, in the field of institutional development, the author finds that while Louis XIV retained intact the older, outmoded administrative system, he superposed upon this a new series of offices and bodies which absorbed most of the important functions of government. Although much evidence would support this conclusion, the categories are unduly rigid. Nevertheless, in spite of these criticisms, it should be emphasized that the book is a significant initial effort in a field of major importance. As such, it will focus attention upon many problems previously neglected, and will take its place in the growing literature concerning historical causation.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

VOLKSSOUVERÄNITÄT UND KIRCHE: STUDIEN ÜBER DAS VERHÄLTNIS VON STAAT UND RELIGION IN FRANKREICH VOM

ZUSAMMENTRITT DER GENERALSTÄNDE BIS ZUM SCHISMA, 5. MAI 1789–13. APRIL 1791. By Karl Dietrich Erdmann. (Cologne: Kölner Universitätsverlag. 1949. Pp. 312.)

THESE "studies" do in fact make a unified whole, a clear, scholarly analysis of the crisis centered on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Dr. Erdmann sets himself the problem of explaining why "*die Todesstunde der gallikanischen Kirche war zugleich die Geburtsstunde der 'deux Frances,' des laizistischrevolutionären und des katholisch-konservativen Frankreichs*" (p. 9), why the attempted compromise in religion made by the Constituent Assembly failed. He brings to the task, not merely good training and good documentation—that many others, even Mathiez, even Taine, have brought to the religious history of the French Revolution—but an honest and compassionate desire to understand what really happened. Together with M. André Latreille's *L'église catholique et la Révolution française*, of which the first volume appeared in 1946, this book is an encouraging sign that in so controversial a matter we have won through, if not to a complete and most unlikely agreement on philosophical and theological ultimates, at least to the fundamental decencies of the human understanding which have been so long lacking in the study of—rather, in the debate over—the relation between Christianity and the French Revolution.

After a most useful survey of writing on the subject from Durand de Maillane's contemporary account, the *Histoire apologétique du comité ecclésiastique de l'Assemblée nationale*, right down to M. Latreille, Dr. Erdmann takes up in successive chapters the conflict in ideas between the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen and the Christian tradition of a privileged church, the conflict between the financial needs of the state and the property rights of the church, and the attempted resolution of these conflicts in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. He then briefly sums up the long and complicated negotiations with the pope which led to the final papal condemnation of the Civil Constitution in the brief *Cariias* of April 13, 1791.

Dr. Erdmann is too good a historian to discount the importance of the personalities of the men who wrestled with this problem, the historical accidents, or at least historically made complexities, such as the situation at Avignon, all the contingencies that make it quite impossible for the historian to say, this outcome was inevitable from the start. The Civil Constitution—or rather, another Civil Constitution a little less crudely uncanonical—might have survived with a more successful, or more lucky, constitutional monarchy. But Dr. Erdmann holds as his central thesis that in these years the conflict between *imperium* and *sacerdotium*, a conflict adjusted in the happier moments of our Western history to a working compromise, perhaps even working unity, but always threatening to break out, took on its characteristic modern form. The characteristic modern solution which we call the "separation of the church and state," was for many reasons quite impossible in 1790. The solution which the majority of the assembly made, a solution on the whole fairly called, as Dr. Erdmann consistently calls it, *gallican*, could not work. "*Zwischen Rom und der Revolution blieb für sie kein Raum*" (p. 300). These men wanted both freedom for the church and

freedom for the state, and, though they failed, their failure helped to prevent the complete victory of either extreme, helped toward that partial and perhaps temporary solution, but still a solution, we call religious freedom, or toleration, or separation of church and state.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

NAPOLEONIC PROPAGANDA. By *Robert B. Holtman*, Associate Professor of History, Louisiana State University. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. xv, 272. \$4.00.)

PERSUADED that insufficient attention has been paid both to Napoleon's awareness of the value of propaganda as a necessary tool of politics and statesmanship and his systematic organization of propaganda, the author of this study seeks to demonstrate how propaganda worked in France and French-occupied regions during the period of Napoleon's ascendancy. He has consulted many of the relevant printed works bearing on that subject; and his treatment might be itemized under the following headings: (1) what Napoleon tried, as the phrase goes, "to sell" to his subjects concerning the shortcomings, errors, and crimes of his enemies and the benefits, virtues, and glory of his efforts or achievements in war and peace; (2) the formal structure of his propaganda control; (3) the various mediums of propagandist communication; (4) the particular devices that he employed to make the message stick; and, finally, (5) an estimate of the effectiveness of mediums, devices, and governmental controls. The heart of the book is the section from chapters II through VII in which he discusses the mediums, of which press and military publications were in his judgment the most effective.

His study has considerable merit. The carefully assembled data make it a useful reference work for the specialist; it is interesting and occasionally very lively reading; the analyses of intentions and deeds are suggestive; and the case is strongly made for the contention that Napoleon was the first monarch to talk directly and frequently to his subjects, that he was moreover a pioneer in the use of government machinery for the kind of systematic official propaganda that is the hallmark of contemporary totalitarian governments. However, the contention seems more than reality warrants. In staking out too great claims, the author proves rather too much. By applying to Napoleon methods and techniques of propaganda analysis which have brilliantly illuminated what the Nazis did and the Communists are doing, he comes close to conveying the impression that the former is somehow acknowledging to the latter a debt he did not contract. By looking backward, for his point of reference is clearly if unavowedly the present, Mr. Holtman is enabled to see things that early investigators could not or would not see, which is all to the good. In not looking sufficiently with the eyes of Napoleon's contemporaries, especially those who had experienced the "*douceur de vivre*" during the Revolution, he overcomes the limitations of myopia by introducing the distortion of farsightedness. It could be argued that Frenchmen were being "pressured," to use another happy expression of current

vintage, and had reason to know it, from at least 1793 on, and most likely somewhat earlier. Many of the things that characterized Napoleon, including control of religion and education, the theater, the arts, and public gatherings, and some of his particular devices, had also characterized others before him, perhaps not so well but in any case not so differently. If Napoleon was first in propaganda and modern governments are his debtors for that boon, he owed obligations to many predecessors. But of these antecedents, Mr. Holtman says virtually nothing.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

THE NEAPOLITAN REVOLUTION OF 1820-1821. By *George T. Romani*. [Northwestern University Studies, Social Studies Series No. 6.] (Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 190. \$4.00.)

THE Neapolitan revolution of 1820-1821 does not loom large in the story of military-political upheavals of even modern Europe. It was, however, significant as the first direct challenge to Metternich's system for the pacification of Europe after 1815. Though it followed the Spanish revolution in time, the geographic position of Italy and the predominance of Austria in the peninsula gave it an importance that the Spanish affair never attained.

The Naples revolution, nevertheless, was doomed from the very beginning. Extorting from a reluctant king the grant of the Spanish constitution of 1812, it was to suffer from his secret hostility. Inspired by the Carbonari, and given leadership by military men who had served the French under Murat, it was weakened by the failure of these two groups to co-operate. Thriving briefly on a blind optimism, it was ruined by the inability or refusal of its leaders properly to evaluate the alignment of the great powers by which it would be judged. Threatening Metternich's conservative, "anti-constitution" order, it was to fall before the advance of Austrian armies.

Mr. Romani has written a highly readable account of the events in Naples, and of their international effects, from July, 1820, to March, 1821. He has drawn on a wide range of sources, especially the *Atti del parlamento delle Due Sicilie, 1820-1821*; he has used the memoirs of the chief participants with suitable caution.

The author of one such apologia, General Guglielmo Pepe, is the hero of the story, in so far as it has one. This ardent constitutionalist (who, in his *Memoirs*, claims, though falsely, practically sole responsibility for the revolution) hoped for, and even planned, some sort of grand military demonstration which, without violence, would impress upon King Ferdinand the necessity of granting the people some form of constitution. Pepe was forestalled, however, by the Carbonaro uprising at Nola on July 1; it was not until the sixth, after events had forecast a fair probability of success, that he decided to lend the revolt the support of his name and talents. That was but one day before the king, through his son (whom he designated vicar general, in an effort to evade responsibility in what was to follow), promulgated the Spanish constitution of 1812, the "darling aim of the Carbonari"; Pepe himself con-

sidered that constitution "extremely absurd," though he was now at the head of the movement that had secured it.

Appointed general in chief of the kingdom by the vicar general, Pepe played an important role in the unfolding character of the revolutionary government. The membership of the provisional junta and of the ministry showed a strongly conservative temper; not a Carbonaro was found in either body, and only seventeen members of the society were among the ninety-eight deputies elected to parliament during August and September. Pepe frequently experienced difficulty in maintaining a balance between the exuberant demands of the Carbonari in and outside the parliament and the more moderate opinions of those who had taken command of the constitutional government. Carbonaro pressure (one is reminded of the French Jacobin clubs) was sufficient to paralyze the parliament which met on October 1, especially in any effort to modify the Spanish constitution. This was the more unfortunate as it became evident that the only way in which to embarrass Metternich and possibly frustrate his plan of intervention was to amend the Spanish constitution in the direction of greater royal power. Such action by the Neapolitans would probably have enlisted the support of France and Russia against the Austrian proposal to crush the revolution by force.

But Metternich had his way. General Pepe, inadequately supplied with troops, offered the only resistance to the advancing Austrian forces, at Rieti, on March 7; the rout of the Neapolitans there was an easy preparation for the Austrian entry into Naples on March 23, and for the complete collapse of the constitutional regime. Pepe escaped to Spain, and later lived in England; he was condemned to death *in absentia*.

Mr. Romani has written well. His story is thoroughly documented; a helpful map, an extensive bibliography, and a complete index contribute to the worth of his volume. It does not, however, add to its merit that it carries on the discredited contemporary rumor that the king could so freely violate his sworn fidelity to the constitution because of "the pontifical absolution which Ferdinand had received for his oaths under duress" (p. 169).

Seton Hall University

JOSEPH H. BRADY

GESCHICHTE RUSSLANDS. By *Valentin Gittermann*. Band III. (Zurich: Bücher-gilde Gutenberg. 1949. Pp. 679. Sfs. 27.00.)

With the publication of the third volume, Professor Gittermann has brought his impressive work on Russian history to completion. With its more than sixty excellent illustrations, its detailed chronology, its maps, indexes, and particularly its over one hundred pages of source material, this third volume—like the preceding two (cf. *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LII [October, 1946], 126)—stands out as a major contribution in the field of Russian history.

The volume begins with the accession to the throne of Emperor Nicholas I and ends with the first acts of the Soviet government in 1917. As Professor Gittermann

himself points out (p. 473), he considered it his main task to describe the special social and economic conditions of Russia. This may be regretted, for the first two volumes excelled in comprehensive treatment. In them a fine balance was kept; political events, institutions, and cultural developments were given their due share along with social aspects, and the "broadly flowing stream of Russian history" was admirably pictured. But, for the third volume, this balance has been somewhat upset. Military affairs, religious and church questions (including the issue of ten to twenty million Old Believers), art, literature (except where it concerned social criticism), and science (notwithstanding a Pavlov or a Mendeleyev) are almost entirely omitted.

Likewise incomplete is the treatment of Russia's foreign relations. Some aspects, such as the military intrigues of the French in connection with their financial penetration of Russia and the clash of Japanese imperialist aspirations with those of the Russians are clearly exposed; but tsarist relations with England, Germany, Italy, and even with Austria-Hungary and Turkey are too briefly and incoherently treated. As a result, important developments, including Russian Balkan policies, the war scare of 1875, and the origins of the World War, are not very intelligible, and important measures, like the sale of Alaska (mentioned only in a special context), the abrogation of the Black Sea Clauses, and the Reinsurance Treaty are entirely left out.

Some uneasiness may be felt about Professor Gitermann's characterizations of a number of leading figures. Pobiedonostsev, for example, had many sides to his character of which only one has been considered; Father Gapon's role is not as unambiguous as represented, and the description of Bloody Sunday not quite accurate. Actually, the entire treatment of the 1905 revolution is somewhat contradictory, owing to a rather arbitrary application of economic and political considerations. The description of Kerensky does little justice to the man's nobler aspirations. As to Alexander II, the author's own account of the tsar's actions confutes his introductory statements about Alexander's personality. And what is said about some aspects of oppression under him and his father, Nicholas I, in the "hot house of capitalism" somehow fails to stir us who have witnessed contemporary oppression of far greater extent under very different labels and conditions.

On the other hand, social and economic developments are very excellently covered. The minute care, thoroughness, and deep interest of the author as well as his erudition and wide study are throughout apparent. Factual and statistical material is ample, although more footnotes would perhaps be useful to help evaluate them. The description of the development of the Russian economy under Nicholas I and of the thoughts and activities of the intelligentsia during his reign is penetrating; that of the intelligentsia, with Slavophiles and Westernizers, is enriched by a picture of the group of negative thinkers who saw little future for Russia and whose influence was later deeply felt. The emancipation movement is mainly derived from economic necessity in a growing capitalistic atmosphere; although idealistic reasons seem underrated, the path toward emancipation and of its practical consequences is convincingly and interestingly traced.

It is because of the masterly treatment of these social and economic aspects—which form the true topics of the book—that the third volume of Gittermann's *Geschichte Russlands*, despite factual shortcomings, ranks as a fine achievement. Even though it does not possess the maturity and comprehensiveness of the first two volumes, it constitutes a worth-while conclusion for the whole work.

University of Delaware

WALTHER KIRCHNER

SECHZIG JAHRE POLITIK UND GESELLSCHAFT. By *Bogdan Graf von Hutten-Czapski*. In two volumes. (Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn. 1936. Pp. xix, 568; xiii, 579.)

FRIEDRICH NAUMANN: DER MANN, DAS WERK, DIE ZEIT. By *Theodor Heuss*. (rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Verlag Hermann Leins. 1949. Pp. xv, 591.)

FEW eras of the recent past offer the historian such a paradoxical pattern as that of the age of William II. Despite all the attention focused upon prewar Germany in connection with the war guilt controversy, despite quantities of diplomatic documents, memoirs, and secondary works, a satisfactory understanding of the defects and accomplishments of that time, and, notably, of their interrelationship, still remains to be achieved. Count Hutten-Czapski's memoirs and the penetrating biography of Friedrich Naumann offer some of the most significant commentary and analysis of the times that have yet appeared. These were two very different individuals. There is record of but a single contact between them. Yet each is strikingly representative of the broader Wilhelmian panorama. Each was associated with groups of trends which had little in common and something of conflict. Yet both are marked as Germans of William's age, as much for their ties with antagonistic underlying forces as for their forthright individualism, which on significant occasions pitted their personalities against the current of the very trends they typified.

Abundant was the contrast between them. Hutten-Czapski, born to *Bildung und Besitz* in Polish Prussia, had his choice of assured opportunities. Naumann grew up in a country parish near Leipzig and, though never in material want, struggled during early manhood with a serious inner conflict as to his life's purpose. Both as young men traveled considerably in Germany; but where the one moved in ever-similar military and social circles, the other was jolted out of placid rural and academic surroundings into the stubborn social realities of industrialized Hamburg. In these years Naumann formulated his enduring concern for the fate of man in the face of ever-growing secularization and economic uncertainty. Such concern for *Sozialpolitik*, and the conditions from which it sprang, were hardly within the scope of Hutten-Czapski's interests; these expressed themselves in semiofficial diplomacy, a legalistic view of affairs much in the Burckian sense, or in the idealistic dilettantism of an aristocratic salon. Where both became vitally engrossed in home and foreign affairs, Naumann spent most of his life on the periphery of events. Well known though he was as a public speaker, at best he could reach the Reichstag, an institution still

struggling for effective status. Concurrently Hutten-Czapski was intimately associated with Hohenlohe, Holstein, and Bülow, was very active in German relations with the Vatican, and had continual easy access to the court. In the realms of art and culture the aristocrat displayed tastes and interests of the wealthy connoisseur; the commoner was fascinated by the cultural and artistic potentialities of the industrial age and yet appalled by the standardization of product and taste that derived from the machine. The epicurean Hutten-Czapski was hardly concerned, as Naumann was, with the *Werkbund*, an association which sought to instill the classic virtues of genuineness and simplicity into the standardized use of modern materials. If the essence of Wilhelminian Germany can be seen in the dilemma of a semifeudal, military-diplomatic governmental and social order which was forced to live with a chain-reaction of industrialization and mass growth, the juxtaposition in the lives and ideas of these two men foreboded the impending disaster.

Nonetheless Naumann and Hutten-Czapski were still individuals in the best traditions of the nineteenth century. Though poles apart in their respective social Lutheran and staunch Catholic points of view, both recognized in religious conviction a firm anchor for the human personality. For each of them preservation of human dignity was of paramount concern. Hutten-Czapski moved from the premise of an enlightened conservative acting on principle. The justice of the *preussischer Rechtsstaat* at its best stood firm in him against avaricious Junker or the pasty principles of a wealthy *parvenu*. He steadfastly opposed Prussia's Polish policy as fundamentally unjust, and firmly advocated electoral reform in Prussia because the constitutional principle was valid. Naumann in his sphere of activity also fought for the individual, for preservation of the individual in the face of economic uncertainty, against the brutalizing effects of the machine and men in masses, and, most importantly, for nurture and appreciation of the human spirit in the Christian tradition. Taken separately both sets of ideals were overcome in the next generation by the brutal forces they had sought to stem. It was a tragedy for Germany, and the world, that a Hutten-Czapski and a Naumann did not band together. And that failure, too, was typically Wilhelminian.

Hutten-Czapski wrote his memoirs in the thirties as a Polish citizen. They were published in both Polish and German editions, for in his second volume he had as much to say to Poles as to Germans. Throughout the war he was closely identified with the German experiment in occupied Poland, working against its worst aspects in Berlin, seeking to reconcile Poles and Germans in Warsaw. In 1936 the old gentleman was doubly deluded: he thought some genuine order and virtue had returned to Germany and he rejoiced in what appeared at last to be a realization of his greatest hope, Polish-German friendship. Whatever these delusions, the first fifty years of his reminiscences offer a dispassionate, unegotistic record of life and politics in the sphere of activity where most of the political decisions of Wilhelminian Germany were made.

Naumann was spared witnessing the collapse of German democracy. He had died

at the peak of his career, when the revolution which had relegated Hutten-Czapski to his estates had made Naumann one of the framers of the Weimar constitution. His friend and biographer is now president of the German Federal Republic. Of his book it can simply be said that it is probably the only work published during the Nazi regime (originally in 1937) that does not bear the mark of its times. Some abbreviation and an epilogue constitute the difference in the new edition. Much more than a routine biography, Heuss's work has portrayed better than any other the larger surroundings in which Naumann worked and thought. In the epilogue the author touches in retrospect upon a few aspects of Naumann's significance. Heuss feels no pat certainty that "things would have been different" had Naumann lived into the Nazi era. He senses in Naumann some indecision, a process of rethinking the relationships of individuals to groups and of postulating some intermediate form of group or corporate existence in which the individual could better meet the mass challenge of his times and still preserve his integrity and freedom. Heuss argues that Naumann might initially have watched the mass techniques of Hitler with grim fascination, but that soon the elementary difference would have asserted itself, the distinction between Hitler's misuse of the masses and Naumann's effort to educate, elevate, and humanize them. The pastor would probably not have prevailed against the house painter either. His failure, however, would not have been an isolated phenomenon, particularly in the perspective of these times. The challenge which Naumann saw in William's era, what Walter Rathenau called the vertical invasion of barbarians, has now become a world problem. Americans could profit from learning Naumann's evaluations of the challenge, and they must be more successful than he was in meeting it.

Pomona College

HENRY CORD MEYER

Far Eastern History

ANDO SHOEKI AND THE ANATOMY OF JAPANESE FEUDALISM. By E. Herbert Norman. In two volumes. [The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Third Series, Volume II.] (Tokyo: Asiatic Society of Japan. 1949. Pp. 340; 140. \$6.00.)

ONE can find in Western literature numerous examples of philosophical works justifying resistance to oppression and tyranny. Such examples are rare in the history of Japanese civilization. This is one reason why Dr. E. Herbert Norman's latest book on the ideas and times of a little-known Japanese philosopher, Ando Shoeki, is of particular interest both to specialists on Japanese history and to those concerned with the comparative study of feudalism.

As this brilliant study by a leading Western authority on modern Japan shows, Ando Shoeki was a bold and original thinker who dared to criticize in no uncertain

terms the feudal system under which he lived. Ando was born in Akita (in northern Japan) either at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. He became a physician, which was not without significance because, as the author says, "Throughout the Tokugawa period doctors enjoyed greater intellectual freedom than was permitted in almost any other branch of learning" (p. 18). It is evident that Ando made good use of this intellectual freedom for he vigorously attacked, *inter alia*, the warrior and priestly classes, Confucianism, Buddhism, and the system of vendetta. On the other hand, "Like many social critics, Shoeki believed in a dim utopian past when mankind lived untrammelled by a governing class in a free and equal simplicity" (p. 100).

In view of his ideas, it is scarcely surprising that Ando was not looked upon with favor by those in power in Japan in the 1930's, and hence most of his extant writings remained in manuscript form. Dr. Norman has made use of this manuscript material as well as published articles and monographs. Incidentally the original text of all passages quoted by the author from manuscript sources is reproduced in a supplementary volume.

The author has wisely taken the view that to be properly understood Ando's ideas must be seen in their setting. Hence he has provided a commentary on Tokugawa society which is both reflective and penetrating. Finally he has drawn many useful and illuminating parallels between Ando's ideas and those of European figures like Gerrard Winstanley and others.

Stanford University

NOBUTAKA IKE

KOREA TODAY. By *George M. McCune*. With the collaboration of *Arthur L. Grey, Jr.* [Issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xxi, 372. \$5.00.)

In a field so barren of critical research as the study of Korea the appearance of the first comprehensive study of this country since its liberation is a noteworthy contribution. Dr. McCune completed about 90 per cent of the work prior to his death in 1948, and the manuscript was finished by his wife, Mrs. Evelyn McCune, and Mr. Arthur L. Grey, a graduate student in economics at the University of California. This clear and objective appraisal by a scholar who had spent many years in Korea is particularly timely in as much as most current studies of this area tend to take the form of undiluted propaganda.

The work is divided into four parts: Korea prior to liberation; the American area; the Soviet area; and the free but divided Korea. The first part is naturally somewhat brief, but previously published volumes by the author cover this period adequately. It is in the last three parts of the work—chapters v through xiii—that Dr. McCune has made his real contribution. He has included chapters on American political, economic, agricultural, and labor policies in South Korea and on Soviet

policies in similar fields in North Korea. The last two chapters are devoted to Korea since the withdrawal of the occupation forces and to prospects for the future.

That the work is incomplete goes without saying. At the present time and under present circumstances, it is patently impossible to get sufficiently accurate material relating to Communist-controlled areas to give more than a bare outline of probable developments there. This Dr. McCune has recognized and explained. If a fault exists, then, it is not in his lack of material on North Korea, but rather in his use of the more readily available material on South Korea. Even here, the fault is slight but may confuse some readers who are not familiar with conditions in postwar Korea. His use of statistics relating to the price of rice to show the effects of inflation, is illustrative of the confusion which may confront the reader. His failure to reduce Korean measures (*suk*, 5.1 bushels, p. 103; *mal*, 4.76 gallons, p. 338) to a single system understandable to the reader, and the seeming differences in prices quoted (pp. 103, 165, 338) leave one in doubt as to the real extent and effect of inflation.

This failure to systematize statistics for the sake of understandability, however, is more than compensated for by his clear and concise explanation of the contributions not only of Korean history but also of the American and Soviet policies which led to the stalemate that produced a divided Korea. Both the successes and the failures of America stand out distinctly, although to this reviewer Dr. McCune did not emphasize sufficiently the most fundamental of all American mistakes. This was the failure of the American Command during the first year of the occupation to enlist the aid of Koreans in the government of their own country (pp. 47 ff. and 73 ff.). This failure not only kept the Americans in ignorance of the actual situation as it was developing in Korea but led to the creation of anti- and pro-American groups striving for popular approval. That the pro-American groups were favorably inclined toward the American forces primarily because of personal and political motives is stressed, however. Regardless of a few minor faults, *Korea Today* makes a real contribution to a better understanding of the Korean situation, particularly of those problems which will confront the Koreans and the United Nations in their effort to develop a united, democratic country.

Arizona State College

ARNOLD TILDEN

INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. By *Lawrence K. Rosinger*. [American Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1950. Pp. 149. \$2.75.)

Just a few years ago, a book about the relations between India and the United States could have contained little more than an account of some small-scale trade, of a few students and scholars, and of a century of valiant but not notably successful missionary activity. But with the emergence of India as an independent and influential power in Asia and with the heightened role of the United States in world politics, the subject of this book has become an important phase of modern international history.

In the opening chapter, the author gives an appraisal of the importance of his subject, noting that "If India were to follow the same general path as its two principal neighbors, the U.S.S.R. and China, the United States would be confronted by the failure of its current foreign policy in a major, perhaps decisive, segment of the world" (p. 6).

While India figures little in the attention of American public opinion, the United States is of great interest to those in India who are politically informed. Every major development in American policy is scrutinized closely, discussed frequently, and editorialized about at length. As Mr. Rosinger well points out, the vast majority of politically conscious Indians are deeply afraid of India's being involved in another war. "They therefore desire minimum involvement in a great power struggle that is widely regarded as not serving India's interests, and certainly not arising from those interests" (p. 38).

But for all of India's carefully neutral course in foreign relations, its orientation in specific matters has generally been with the Western democracies. Economically India has been dependent on imports of food and of machinery from the United States and the United Kingdom. There are deep suspicions in India that the price of attracting American investment capital would be the subordination of key aspects of Indian domestic policy (concerning national control and management of industrial enterprise) to the business views of large United States companies. Recently however, the government has given assurances to private foreign investors that a favorable climate would prevail for their ventures. In the United Nations, India has frequently disagreed with both the United States and the Soviets, but in such matters as the Korean conflict has voted with the Western nations.

Within India there are mounting pressures and these make uncertain the future trend of the nation. The author says that a distinction must be made between Nehru's personal appeal and the popularity of his government, which has little enthusiastic or active support. Economic and political tensions are increasing. If American aid and influence are to mitigate these tensions they must be brought to bear in the light of an understanding of India's problems. For, "Understanding India is an important facet of understanding the times in which we live—and more specifically the problems of countries newly emerging from colonialism in a world thrown out of joint by two wars."

The author is a staff member of the American Institute of Pacific Relations; the book is issued under the auspices of the institute and is a worthy addition to its long list of valuable contributions.

University of California, Berkeley

DAVID G. MANDELBAUM

American History

THE REPUBLICANS AND FEDERALISTS IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1790-1801:
A STUDY IN NATIONAL STIMULUS AND LOCAL RESPONSE. By

Harry Marlin Tinkcom. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1950. Pp. viii, 354.)

SEVERAL years ago the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission began the practice of publishing noteworthy contributions to the political history of the commonwealth that might not otherwise be made available in print. Aware that doctoral dissertations seldom attract the interest of the publishing trade, the commission has included certain distinguished essays of this character in its plans. Harry Tinkcom's book is the second of such studies to bear the commission's imprint.

The theme of Mr. Tinkcom's study is the evolution of the political party system in the state of Pennsylvania. In examining this phenomenon, he has dug deeply into the intricacies of Pennsylvania politics during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Local issues, ideological differences, and the impact of national and international events are paraded in succession in the development of the subject.

The book is divided into three sections. The first deals with what the author terms "Political Nebulae, 1790-1792." Here he centers his attention upon local politics, providing ample proof that as yet no semblance of a party system had emerged. He continues with a section devoted to "National Stimulus and Local Response, 1793-1795." Pennsylvania had now housed the new national government for several years. The influence of its presence and activities forced the state to make a considerable adjustment. This was accomplished not without controversy. Having developed "introspectively" during the confederation period as the influence of the national authority waned, Pennsylvania now began to accommodate itself to the superior force. Evidence of this was early indicated in the character of the new state constitution adopted in 1790. Drafted and accepted in an atmosphere devoid of excessive partisanship, it was but the forerunner of issues demanding more drastic reorientation. These were ultimately productive of cleavages that prepared the way for the formal recognition of political differences.

Factors such as the national government's forceful support of its whiskey tax, the Genêt episode, and the ratification of Jay's Treaty soon gave rise to two bodies of opinion that were generally recognized as Republican and Federalist. As yet, however, these were merely expressions of a state of mind. The more formal organization associated with the activities of political parties awaited the crystallizing action of forces operative in the years from 1796 to 1801. Under the caption, "The Triumph of Republicanism, 1796-1801," Tinkcom, in his third and last section, describes this development—a development that reached its climax in the state elections of 1799, 1800, and 1801. By this time two distinct political parties had been formed and were locked in a bitter struggle for control of government. In each of these electoral contests the self-styled Republicans were triumphant. Superior organization and effective leadership enabled them to outmaneuver and defeat their Federalist opponents. Political control of the state and a share in the larger national triumph was their reward.

Although the narrative is chronological in pattern, it is organized primarily around the factors contributory to the unfolding of the theme of the essay. These

elements are examined and evaluated with painstaking care and considerable skill. Often widely disparate in character, they are cleverly brought into focus in support of the author's main objective.

One of the most instructive thoughts arising from the perusal of this work is the absolute need for more studies of its kind. Until we explore fully the multiplicity of forces interactive on the local political scene, we are unsafe in our generalizations regarding the nature of the national panorama. Here, under review, is an excellent illustration of what can be done in this area. Similar efforts should be equally rewarding.

Tinkcom's style is engaging, at times bordering on the brilliant; his material is presented in accordance with a well-conceived plan. In the opinion of this reviewer, however, the repeated use of summaries, while a desirable device in more general studies, seems unnecessary here. Similarly, extensive biographical material, introduced somewhat parenthetically in the text, might find a more satisfactory repository in appropriate footnotes or appendixes. Scarcely to be considered as criticisms, these are matters of organization that in no sense detract from the excellence of the work.

The author has gathered his evidence from a variety of sources. These are indicated by his ample footnotes and extensive bibliography. An adequate index completes the study.

Muhlenberg College

VICTOR L. JOHNSON

SLAVERY IN ALABAMA. By *James Benson Sellers*, University of Alabama. (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press. 1950. Pp. 426. \$4.00.)

THE appearance of this work serves as a reminder that we are still without sufficient local studies of slavery to serve as a basis for a definitive history of the institution in the United States. At the same time, this extensive treatment of slavery in Alabama points up rather clearly the enormous difficulties the student encounters in trying to secure adequate data on which to base valid generalizations regarding the many social and economic aspects of slavery. Mr. Sellers is well aware of the fact, for example, that large numbers of Alabama's slaveholders owned few slaves; and yet he is compelled to base his discussion of slavery, for the most part, on the records left by the large planters, who were more articulate than their less affluent fellows. While these difficulties caused the author to reach conclusions hesitantly, they did not prevent him from describing slavery in Alabama with commendable earnestness and in great detail. The work covers many phases of Negro slavery, including its growth in the territory and state, the legal status of slaves, the management of plantations, social conditions, town slaves, and free Negroes. It was especially gratifying to find a very extensive treatment of overseers, while the author's recognition of information on runaways as a most important source on the whole institution of slavery is all too singular among students of the ante-bellum period.

While there is much discussion of the expense involved in purchasing and maintaining slaves and of other economic aspects of the institution, there is no clear

statement regarding the total economic importance of slavery. Perhaps the author is satisfied with the treatment in *The Cotton Kingdom in Alabama*, by Charles S. Davis, but there is no indication that he is. Perhaps even more disturbing are some of the author's observations regarding various social aspects of slavery that are either inconclusive or that contain elements of contradiction. Regarding housing, he asserts that "in the court records studied, no case was found in which masters had failed to provide sufficient protection for their slaves in this respect." But the author hastened to admit that there were "no legal requirements . . . setting minimum standards for slave housing" (p. 83). Under such circumstances, the question of housing seldom would properly be before the courts. There are numerous examples of bonds of affection between masters and their slaves (pp. 127-40), but conclusions are difficult to reach in the face of numerous instances of the killing of masters by their slaves (pp. 245-46, 249, 262). The author observed that at least practical considerations dictated the humane treatment of slaves (p. 83), but the examples of masters whipping slaves to death (pp. 227-28) and the telltale marks of brutality described on runaways (p. 268) raise serious doubts regarding humane treatment. These failings are to be attributed not so much to the author as they are to an institution whose very nature defies consistency and makes generalizations extremely difficult.

The format is attractive, but the grouping of all books in the bibliography under "Secondary Sources," when many are obviously primary materials, is misleading.

Howard University

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

THE EXPLORATION OF THE COLORADO RIVER IN 1869 and THE EXPLORATION OF THE COLORADO RIVER AND THE HIGH PLATEAUS OF UTAH IN 1871-72. [Utah Historical Quarterly, Volumes XV, XVI-XVII.] (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society. 1947, 1948-49. Pp. xiii, 270; 540. \$2.75, \$4.00.)

Few subjects in frontier history have been so neglected as the western explorations of the 1870's. Between 1867 and 1874 Clarence King mapped a hundred-mile-wide strip along the route of the Pacific Railroad, F. V. Hayden conducted his geological and geographic survey of the Territories, George M. Wheeler investigated the region adjacent to the one hundredth meridian, and Major John Wesley Powell explored the mysteries of the Green and Colorado river basins. These scientifically trained investigators and their numerous assistants, although lacking the romance of the earlier pathfinders and mountain men, played an equally vital role in the occupation of the West; the information that they brought back led to the settlement of much of the Rocky Mountain and Great Basin country by miners, cattlemen, and farmers. Yet the story of their efforts has been largely ignored by historians.

The Utah State Historical Society has performed an invaluable service by making available the documentary materials necessary for the history of one of these expeditions. The explorations of Major Powell began in the spring of 1869 when he and nine companions launched four specially built boats on the upper Green River.

After three harrowing months they emerged at the mouth of the Virgin River, having traversed hundreds of miles of roaring rapids that had defied earlier explorers. Their success won Major Powell some government support for a second expedition in 1871-1872. This time eleven men in three boats followed the same route at a more leisurely pace, investigating the side country and making important scientific observations along the way.

Our knowledge of these expeditions has been based on narratives written by Major Powell and other members of his party, published several years later. The inadequacy of these accounts is now demonstrated for the first time. Powell, for example, incorporated many episodes from the 1871-1872 expedition into his account of the 1869 journey, while his companions distorted facts or shaded interpretations in their effort to discredit or overpraise their leader.

These two fat volumes will allow historians to reconstruct the true story of the expeditions. They contain the hitherto unpublished diaries of several members of the two parties, together with accounts they contributed to contemporary newspapers and personal letters. Notable for the 1869 journey is the readable diary of George Y. Bradley, the only complete record of that trip. Equally essential for an understanding of the second expedition are the journals of Captain F. M. Bishop, Stephen V. Jones, John F. Stewart, and Walter C. Powell, all printed in their entirety for the first time. Together they form a narrative that is not only highly readable, even exciting, but richly informative to any student of ethnology, geography, geology, or history.

Several competent scholars have contributed a number of introductions that not only outline the history of Colorado River exploration but sketch in the background of the diarists. Well-chosen illustrations and maps help the reader to follow the explorers with a minimum of effort and a maximum of understanding, while a complete index allows easy reference.

Northwestern University

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

THE YANKEE EXODUS: AN ACCOUNT OF MIGRATION FROM NEW ENGLAND. By *Stewart H. Holbrook*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1950. Pp. xii, 398. \$5.00.)

THE author of this book tells us that his interest in the migration from New England began some forty years ago when he first became conscious of the many deserted hill farms in his native Vermont. He himself joined in the exodus, and later undertook to find out who among the Yankees migrated and why, where they went and what they did when they got there. The answers to these questions in *The Yankee Exodus* have been organized mainly around the destinations of the migrants, with the emphasis on the pioneers in the various communities. The chief areas examined are New York, the Old Northwest, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Colorado, and the Pacific Coast. The major exceptions to this geographical approach are three chapters dealing respectively with educators, inventors, and a miscellaneous group

of business and professional leaders, including one outstanding robber. Hundreds of Yankees are described or mentioned by name; some of them are of course people of importance, but many are of local significance only and their names are largely meaningless to the general reader.

There are many colorful figures in the lot—preachers, teachers, moneylenders, perfectionists, vegetarians, concocters of patent medicines with high alcoholic content—some of whom have been included perhaps because of Mr. Holbrook's concern for the "lost men of American history." This interest in the unusual may explain why one whole chapter is devoted to the "Mercer Girls"—prospective wives for the bachelors of the Puget Sound area—while no mention is made of "Slade's Girls," the more prosaic schoolmarms sent out west by the Board of National Popular Education under the direction of William Slade of Vermont. It may also explain why the scoundrel Sile Doty rates two pages while Stephen A. Douglas, a more reputable Vermonter, gets about two lines.

Although there are few specific references in the footnotes to the sources of information, there is appended a list of the works that the author has found most useful; and the details in general bear the marks of verisimilitude—but who was "the aged Webster" (p. 187) who heard Charles Sumner denounce the "Crime against Kansas"? It was not Daniel; he died in 1852. But however accurate separate details, a question may be raised as to whether the net impression left by this book tends to exaggerate the achievements of the Yankees. Great as were their contributions—and the story as told here is impressive—they can be appraised fairly only in relation to the work of their associates who did not have the good fortune to be born in the land of the bean and the cod. As a case in point, it is the belief of the present reviewer that too much credit has been given in connection with the founding of Greeley, Colorado, to Horace Greeley, native of Vermont, and not enough to Ohio-born Nathan Meeker (pp. 213–19). And thought-provoking as are the author's generalizations, one may question such an assertion as this one on New England's contribution to education: "If there is still, three hundred years later, a widespread respect for learning in America, then its sources are in the rock-bound New Canaan of the Yankees—and not elsewhere" (p. 359.)

This book, which fills a gap in the story of the westward movement, is essentially descriptive, and its word pictures are supplemented by maps and illustrations of relevant persons and places. For those whose chief interest in history lies in personalities and picturesque detail, this book will be a delight; those who are more concerned with the underlying forces in historical movements will wish that there had been a more searching analysis of the causes and results of the Yankee exodus.

University of Colorado

COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ

IN SEARCH OF FREEDOM: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN JEWS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By *Guido Kisch*, Jewish Institute of Religion, New York City, formerly Professor Ordinarius at the University of Prague. With a Fore-

word by Jan Masaryk. (London: Edward Goldston and Son; New York: Bloch Publishing Company. 1949. Pp. xvi, 373. \$4.50.)

THE perennial problem of the transference of a people or an ethnic group from one milieu to another has always challenged analysis and description. America has, in her history, been the focus of numberless such transferences, and, by some potent alchemy has transmuted or absorbed into her own body spiritual and politic these foreign elements. It is now even possible to say that America is *all* foreign and *ipso facto* all American.

Professor Kisch has assembled a vast amount of personal and genealogical data concerning a group of peculiar interest, both in the cultures from which it came and in the rich diversity of gifts it offered its new home.

The Jews in Czechoslovakia had a long history. Any curious visitor to modern Prague would have been impressed by the old Jewish cemetery dating from the early Middle Ages and the Gothic Jewish synagogue from the thirteenth century. The Prague ghetto was one of the more active and constant factors in the life of the city. There were, furthermore, in the other principal cities of Bohemia other groups of Jews active in business and the arts.

In compiling his data the author has had to wrestle with the difficulty of tracing, from the Bohemian side, those who left for America, and from the American side, those who demonstrably came from Bohemia or Slovakia. Names are not always indicative; our immigration service has not always insisted on categories of race or mother tongue, preferring to use simple political area allegiance. It is thus probable that many immigrant Jews who chose to identify themselves either as German-speaking Austrians or as Czech-speaking Bohemians actually disappeared into the American scene almost without a trace of their origin.

In spite of these confusing difficulties Professor Kisch has amassed an amazing number of families and individuals who were of sufficient importance to leave an impress upon American economy or culture.

The names of Brandeis, Taussig, Busch, Sabath, Flexner, Bulova, Werfel are only a few of those Jews of Czech or Slovak origin who in law, commerce, the professions, and the arts have won wide recognition and earned profound respect in the land of their adoption.

Not the least useful part of the book is the extensive and systematic bibliography which is arranged by topics, cities, and families. It is for the most part in German, which, in view of the general tendency of the Jews in areas of mixed Slav-German population to identify themselves with the German element is not surprising. Professor Kisch is perhaps too sensitive on this point, to such a degree (p. 262, n. 10) as to have blurred the precision of statement of an author he quotes. It is doubtless due to insufficient data in individual cases that the question of intermarriage between Jew and Gentile seldom arises. This would of course have cultural significance in any scientific appraisal of Jewish *qua* Jewish impact upon or contribution to American society. But as Professor Kisch remarks, it is regrettably true that no definitive

history of Czech or Czechoslovak Jewry has yet been made. When and if such a study is made, the background of Jewish emigration to America will stand out in a much clearer fashion. With the data available Professor Kisch has written an illuminating and suggestive book. Perhaps its greatest merit is that it shows the reader where further research might profitably lead.

University of Colorado

S. HARRISON THOMSON

OKLAHOMA: FOOT-LOOSE AND FANCY-FREE. By *Angie Debo*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 258. \$3.75.)

THE statement sometimes made about Russia, that anything said about it can be true because it is so vast a country, might almost be applied to Oklahoma. The reason, however, would not be size, although Oklahoma is one of the larger states, so much as diversity of climate, soils, topography, and in particular the diversity of human cultures. These last have poured into the state from various directions, forming a seething mixture whose activity has been catalyzed by the presence of modern technology. The equilibrium point of this vast reaction has not yet been reached, but, in the meantime, what would ordinarily be generations of change have been telescoped into an unbelievably short span of time.

From Black Mesa in the northwest corner of the state to Idabel in the southeast corner is a distance of about five hundred miles and a drop of nearly a mile in elevation. Along the same diagonal, rainfall rises from fifteen inches to more than forty, while evaporation decreases greatly and vegetation shifts from short grass through prairie and the weird dwarf forest of Crosstimbers to cypress and palmetto. The stubs of four ancient mountain groups persist, while great rivers, on their way from Rockies to the Gulf, carry enough flood water to transform a thirsty land, then relapse into broad ribbons of dry sand through most of the year.

Into this environment have been crowded the last remnants of Indian tribes of many language stocks, representing cultures as diverse as, say, Bantu and Polynesian. Add the Negro, white cotton-grower and mountaineer, Kansas wheat-farmer, western cattleman, the diverse gentry of the petroleum industry and all who followed in the train of the wealth which it produced. Bring the mixture to a boil in a time of general transition and you can understand the comment of a lively philosopher, an Ohio lad who had practiced law in Tulsa for several years, "You know, I hated to go to bed at night for fear I'd miss something."

Coming to Miss Debo's book cold—that is, without having lived in Oklahoma—one might easily make the fatal mistake of assuming that it is merely an expanded and literate country column such as used to record the homely doings of crossroads and neighborhoods. Many names and events seem at first to have only local interest. Many of course do not, for the impact of Oklahoma and Oklahomans on the nation has been considerable.

But the essential point is, I think, that Miss Debo is a highly competent professional historian and in the true Oklahoma tradition has attempted to put her scholar-

ship to work. Her volume is really one of applied history, if we may use that term. She has put history to work in the interpretation of an exceedingly complex and dynamic modern resultant of historical process. What may seem like provincial emphasis on the accomplishments of Oklahoma farm lads, athletes, or soldiers, for example, is really part of a fabric to the weaving of which all parts of the design are essential. As an ecologist who has long since learned the futility of interpreting plant and animal communities apart from their history, I must salute this achievement in the study of a far more difficult problem.

I must salute, too, the clear-cut accuracy of the book, and its candor as well. But the real stamp of authenticity lies in the occasional quiet epigram which reveals that essential insight without which history, and even physical science, ceases to have form.

Yale University

PAUL B. SEARS

COWBOYS AND CATTLE KINGS: LIFE ON THE RANGE TODAY.

By G. L. *Sonnichsen*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1950. Pp. xviii, 316. \$4.50.)

For a book in a crowded field of history to be worth special acclaim its author must either bring a new point of view and superior execution to an oft-told tale or he must add something that all the other authors have either overlooked or found too difficult to perform. C. L. *Sonnichsen* has, for the present, scored cleanly on both points. He has brought something new in subject matter to the history of the cattle kingdom, and since it is new it is unique, without a competitor. And it will take a good competitor to surpass his manner and style of execution.

Histories of the cattle kingdom are abundant, and some of them are excellent, but, being histories, they stick to the past, delve into origins, and tell the familiar story of the evolution of the open range into the big pasture country, and usually leave the impression that the day of the cattleman is over. Their sources are the tales that other authors and dead cowmen have told, and their concern is almost wholly with what has passed.

This book deals with what is left, "life on the range today" with the emphasis on *today*. The author has caught the big and little ranches, cowmen, cowboys, and all the cattle culture-complex as they now are. He stopped time as it were and took a photograph. This explains why he has not listed a single book where the bibliography is usually found, only living persons arranged alphabetically under twelve states from Arizona to Wyoming. These are his sources, and his only sources barring a few authors who appear sparingly, and in most cases by necessity, in the few footnotes.

This means that practically the whole book is a primary source on the cattle business in the year 1949-50. Since it is a primary source, there is little for the critic to find fault with. If the author made errors, which so delight the critic, they are a secret between him and Brand Inspector Chase Feagins of Alliance, Nebraska, or Mrs. Laura-He-Does-It of Crow Agency, Montana, or Clyde and Jim Buffington

of Gunnison, Colorado, or hundreds of others interviewed from the Rio Grande to the Canadian border. The sources are sheriffs, cattle inspectors, agricultural agents, cattle association executives, ranchmen, cowboys, cooks, drifters, oil millionaires playing with blooded Herfords, burying their income taxes in bulls, and shoestring ranchers desperately intent on getting enough income to pay some taxes.

The method used by the author was that of riding and not of reading. "From February 2 to June 23, 1949," he says, "I drifted through the range lands from the Rio Grande to the Yellowstone, from the Nebraska Sandhills to Great Salt Lake. I traveled from end to end of what was once the Cattle Kingdom and is still the heart of the cattle country, learning everything I could. In these pages are set down much that I found out about the people who raise beef for a living, not about the trail driver and pioneer, but about . . . [those] who saddle up early and go to bed late on the American cattle range." It is easy to forgive the author his wrong verb in the last sentence, and it would not be mentioned except for the fact that other faults are so hard to find.

The best evidence that this account has verity is that the author does not present the people of the cattle country as villains or saints—certainly not saints. He is remarkably frank, and sometimes almost brutal, in stripping away the unreal image of the cowboy and the cattleman as built up in the public mind by the magazines and the moving pictures. He does an excellent job of showing why ranch people have become less hospitable to strangers, and his section on the subject should be read by those who plan a free vacation in the Far West.

It is appropriate that this authentic book, a distinct contribution to history and perhaps to literature, comes from the University of Oklahoma Press and with a format creditable to the bookmaker's art anywhere. The author teaches southwestern literature at Texas Western College, El Paso, Texas. In short, the whole work is out of the old cattle kingdom where men still live who know whether a book about them and their cows is any good.

University of Texas

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB

THE FARM BUREAU THROUGH THREE DECADES. By *Orville Merton Kile*, Agricultural Economist and Publicist. (Baltimore: Waverly Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 416. \$3.50.)

THE Farm Bureau is the youngest and also the largest and most powerful of the three major farm organizations of the United States. First organized in Broome County, New York, in 1911, it now has a membership of nearly 1,500,000 while the Grange, started in 1867, numbers about 800,000 members, and the Farmers' Union, which dates from 1902, has approximately 150,000 members. It should be noted that membership in the Farm Bureau and the Farmers' Union is on the family basis whereas in the Grange it is on the individual basis. The Grange represents the conservative or right wing, and the Farmers' Union the radical or left wing of the farmers' movement in its crusade for economic and social justice. The Farm Bureau may

more nearly be described as the center. Like the Grange it represents the upper income bracket of farmers, the Farmers' Union the lower income bracket. The author of this book has been intimately and continuously associated with the Farm Bureau from its inception as a national organization in 1919. He states that he has kept in close touch with the organization, attended all the annual conventions and reported currently all its more significant acts over a period of nine years. He has "known personally all the principal and most of the associated persons mentioned in the book." He helped organize the farm bloc in Congress (see *Who's Who*).

This book is a revision and continuation of the author's *The Farm Bureau Movement*, published in 1921. It is largely the story of the organization and the political and legislative activities of the American Federation of Farm Bureaus as a national organization. No consideration is given to the social and educational functions of the Farm Bureau on the township and county ("grass roots") levels; and the political activities of the state units receive very little attention. As such, it is the story of a powerful agrarian pressure group evolved through past experience and fortuitously coming into existence in the exigencies of the First World War and the aftermath of the Great Depression in agriculture.

The story is divided into seven parts. In Part I, "The Historical Background," the author reviews the earlier farm organizations, the origin and early development of the Farm Bureau and the county agent system, the formation of the state units and the organization of the American Farm Bureau Federation. The next five parts are devoted to the administrations of James R. Howard (1920-22), O. E. Bradfute (1923-25), Sam Thompson (1926-31), Edward O'Neal (1931-47), and Allan B. Kline (1947-). The demand for what became known as "equality" or "parity" for agriculture became the rallying cry of the A.F.B.F. almost from the beginning of the 1920's. Then came the formation of the farm bloc in Congress and the appointment of Gray Silver as the Washington representative of the A.F.B.F.; the movement for co-operative marketing; the battle for McNary-Haugenism, twice defeated by presidential vetoes; the Federal Farm Board; and the farm legislative program of the 1930's and the Second World War. Since then the A.F.B.F. has devoted its attention largely to the development of a long-term farm program, the maintenance of an adequate price-support system to insure the farmer against loss and bankruptcy, the revamping of the soil conservation agencies, and the playing of a constructive role in international affairs while continuing its major activities in the fields of education, commodity marketing, insurance, and the woman's department.

The A.F.B.F. has been militant in its demand for the decentralization of federal farm programs and the development of a high degree of county and state autonomy in their administration as a means of bringing government "back to the people." The Farm Security Administration, the Farm Credit Administration, and the Soil Conservation Service have been vigorously denounced as "straight line administrative" from Washington while the agricultural extension system is held up as a model of administration and management. It may also be observed that while holding to the need of federal price supports for farm products, the A.F.B.F., under the lead-

ership of its president, Allan B. Kline, favors a flexible price-support formula adjusted to market conditions with a minimum of federal intervention in farming as a free competitive enterprise. This position has been opposed by Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan, whose plan, it is charged, would raise mandatory price levels higher than 90 per cent of parity on the most important farm products and would require more government control at a time when costs are rising, when there is no depression, when the farmers are out of debt.

The concluding part of Kile's book is devoted to an appraisal of the "assets, problems, and prospects" of the A.F.B.F. He emphasizes the fact that the farmers constitute a minority which is dependent on public confidence and support and warns that "just as the general public, which has long been sympathetic with labor and supported most of its demands for improved conditions, finally revolted at organized labor's excesses and enacted restraining legislation, so might the public be expected to react against agriculture if it should become convinced that the farmer was asking too much" (p. 399). Kile's treatment is based on the original records of the A.F.B.F. and on information received from the state farm bureaus and from persons with whom he has been associated in the organization. A few secondary sources are listed in the footnotes. No bibliography is given. There is evident as a consequence a lack of historical perspective and a bias in favor of the A.F.B.F. which seem at times to impair the author's judgments. Despite these limitations, this book makes its contribution to the history of the farmers' movement in the United States.

Iowa State College

LOUIS BERNARD SCHMIDT

ROOSEVELT, FROM MUNICH TO PEARL HARBOR: A STUDY IN THE CREATION OF A FOREIGN POLICY. By *Basil Rauch*, Associate Professor of History, Barnard College, Columbia University. (New York: Creative Age Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 527. \$4.50.)

If Franklin Delano Roosevelt could have lived to read Basil Rauch's spirited defense of presidential foreign policy from Munich to Pearl Harbor, his heart would have been warmed, but he might have been taken aback by the theories and principles of action attributed to him. In brief, the argument of the book is that F. D. R. was an "internationalist" throughout his career; and that after the surrender of the Western powers to Hitler at Munich he turned from preoccupation with domestic problems to the task of changing American foreign policy from "isolationism" to "internationalism." This he accomplished, bit by bit, as his speeches and acts educated the American people.

Essential to an understanding of Rauch's point of view is the discussion of "internationalism," "isolationism," and "imperialism" in an introductory chapter. Exact definitions are not given, but a major point emphasized is that internationalism need not lead to war (as isolationists argued) because it involves the *progressive* application of measures which can stop aggression before the last resort to military sanctions.

According to this view, the late President could and did hope that the series of measures which he adopted during the pre-Pearl Harbor years might have averted hostilities. Roosevelt is exonerated from the charge of planning war or of having violated in any way the pronouncements of peaceful intention he made in the course of the 1940 campaign.

The author has made no attempt to cope with the vast accumulation of unpublished material which is beginning to become available. His work is supported chiefly by references to the Roosevelt *Public Papers*, United States government publications, and the published memoirs of Roosevelt's many friends and enemies. Further, the spotlight being on Roosevelt, Rauch has not felt it necessary to use foreign publications to any appreciable extent. Obviously, his attempt has not been to write so-called "definitive" history, or even to provide a synthesis of all available printed material on American foreign relations in the prewar years; it has been, rather, to present an interpretation of F. D. R.'s acts and motives. Readers will find this interpretation provocative, but many will not find it convincing. In the course of his account, Rauch is highly effective in exposing many of the instances in which critics of the President, particularly the late Charles Austin Beard, distorted the record, chiefly by the suppression of facts which did not fit into their theories. By laying the ghosts of some of these insinuations and innuendos, this book makes a contribution to the public discussion of the prewar era. However, when it moves from this negative defense to positive interpretation it is on less solid ground.

Scholars are divided as to whether "collective security," as envisaged in the Covenant of the League of Nations, has ever been a completely viable policy, owing to difficulties inherent in the uneven and limited distribution of power among nations. Whatever view may prevail as to earlier years, most observers are in accord that little more than the idea, still backed by loyal individual adherents but deserted by governments, remained after Munich. The co-operation, before 1939, of the powers later associated in the war against Nazi Germany might, as Rauch maintains, have put off the war and it would have made the victory eventually won easier to achieve. However, the alignment of certain powers to protect their common interests against another group of powers cannot be identified with "collective security." It is, rather, one more example of the formation of a "Grand Alliance" like that which brought about the downfall of Napoleon. Even if the foregoing argument is dropped, it remains to be proved that Roosevelt's policy of co-operation (first limited, eventually all-embracing) with the enemies of Hitler was based on an "internationalist" viewpoint. It is even more probable that the President was motivated by the conviction that the security of the United States could only be maintained by a policy of world leadership in which the British and other nonaggressive great powers might be associated. This leadership, certainly, was not to be imperialistic in the nineteenth century sense, or even exploitative in a more refined way by the use of subtler and less violent methods. It was thought of as a kind of trusteeship made feasible by our power and justified by the positive idealism which accompanied that power. Genuine "internationalism," as Rauch uses the term, was something remote

to F. D. R.—if there is any faith to be given to the many reports we have of Roosevelt's attitude toward the question of international organization at the Atlantic conference, Dumbarton Oaks, and Yalta. It was something we might piously work for, but it was not an immediate, practical system for establishing international security.

To deal with certain particulars, Rauch's exposition of the turn in Rooseveltian policy and its relation to domestic politics after Munich is convincing, but his opinion that the change was merely one of emphasis can be questioned. Not only is it necessary to admit departures from "internationalism" in economic foreign policy in 1933; to exaggerate the political significance of the Hull Trade Agreements Program; to overrate the "support" given in 1935 to League action against Italy; and to admit heresy against "internationalism" in the case of the Spanish Civil War; but also to interpret Roosevelt's support of peace by verbal entreaty at the time of Munich as support of collective security.

In dealing with inter-American affairs, there seems to be too great a dependence on the *Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (incidentally, cited 146 times in a total of 718 footnotes). The extent to which the inter-American system was based on the idea of "hemispheric defense," a kind of continental isolationism, is disregarded, and even the neutrality avowed at Panama (1939) is interpreted as a step in the direction of world co-operation against aggressors.

Rauch follows the lines marked out by Ambassador Hayes and by Professor Langer in defense of our wartime policies toward Franco and Vichy. These policies have been well defended against the charge that they were engineered with evil intent by crypto-Fascists, but they have been less thoroughly proved to have been as realistic and effective as their authors and defenders maintain. One of these controversial lines of action led to success only because of the providential assassination of Darlan; the other seemed to pay off because Hitler, lacking resources and bogged down in Russia, could not afford to put on enough pressure to overcome the hesitation of the Spanish dictator.

Rauch admits Roosevelt's involvement of the United States in a "limited undeclared war" in the Atlantic Ocean in the autumn of 1941. He argues strongly that the President did not seek an all-out conflict there and took only minimum measures to bolster the flow of lend lease to Britain. He cannot, however, conceal the fact that these steps were accompanied by a great deal of presidential verbal legerdemain in order to grasp one horn of the lend-lease dilemma (all-out support for Britain, short of war) and at the same time grasp the other horn (lend lease was a peace measure).

In dealing with the Japanese problem, Rauch forcefully, and, in this reviewer's opinion, successfully demolishes the Beard-Morgenstern thesis, but he does not explain why the imposition of embargoes, so long resisted by the administration as likely to bring war, unless limited to nonessentials, was resorted to in the summer of 1941 without full recognition of its almost inevitable consequences.

Roosevelt, from Munich to Pearl Harbor is a work from which all readers will derive profit. It abounds in interesting discussions of topics too numerous to mention here; it is written in vigorous and clear prose; it is a welcome addition to the literature of its subject, until now weighted down by works of the opposite tendency and the failure of the Roosevelt defenders to take up their cudgels systematically. The limited depth of the sources on which it is based and the rather doctrinaire thesis around which it revolves will militate, however, against its full acceptance as a balanced picture of the true shape of prewar American foreign policy.

Vassar College

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

THE FAR DISTANT SHIPS: AN OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF CANADIAN NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *Joseph Schull*. [Published by Authority of the Minister of National Defence.] (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, King's Printer. 1950. Pp. xix, 515. \$3.00.)

HERE is the eventful story of Canada's outstanding contribution to the winning of World War II. Here is revealed how, at times singlehanded, the Royal Canadian Navy fought the battle of the North Atlantic wastes, the convoy lifeline which kept Britain going in her hour of peril and which eventually supplied the mighty Allied host that overwhelmed the Axis. It is a story of heroism and sacrifice, of doing much with little. It is a story of ships that received their trials at sea and of men who received their training in battle. More than half the eighteen chapters are devoted to convoy operations, but the Canadian Navy's part in the North African, Italian, and Normandy landings is not neglected.

That these far-flung activities would strain the industrial and manpower resources of Canada was to be expected. That the problems posed by these strains were solved quickly and adequately is a tribute to the courage and resourcefulness of Canada's leaders and citizens alike. The introduction of the corvette, for example, solved the problem of providing Canada with ships which she could afford and which her own yards could build. The corvette proved to be one of the most effective antisubmarine craft used in World War II. New organizations, new tactics, and new equipment all had their place in the long fight against the U-boat, and Canada's contribution bulked large in every field.

The book is written for the general reader in language that, at times, sparkles with descriptive power and, at others, serves only to obscure the meaning in a mass of verbiage. The author, a writer of "drama, verse, and fiction," had access to all official records and was free to interpret the facts in his own way. The historian will regret that Mr. Schull did not make better use of the freedom accorded him. A keener sense of discrimination, for example, would have largely reduced some of the long descriptions of relatively unimportant events (pp. 188-93, 217-23, etc.). Similarly, much other trivia should have been eliminated entirely. Then, for no apparent reason, there is appended a long list of officers of the Canadian Navy,

even down to the commanders of the smallest craft. This space might better have been used to document the text. Despite these shortcomings, however, this is a story worth telling and worth reading, too, if the reader can find his way through the adjectives.

Washington, D. C.

O. J. CLINARD

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Vera Micheles Dean*, Research Director, Foreign Policy Association. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1950, pp. ix, 349, xiii, \$3.50.) As research director of the Foreign Policy Association, Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean has over a number of years performed a very useful service in helping to interpret for the public the issues of American foreign policy. This most recent of her several books is once again a penetrating and illuminating analysis of the current scene, written with keen insight and a remarkable degree of objectivity. In style and content it is designed for the general reader with the avowed purpose of seeking to dispel misconceptions, largely based on an ignorance of history, which might have dangerous consequences so far as the impact of public opinion on our foreign policy is concerned. Mrs. Dean deals first with the past in discussing three major trends as she sees them in recent history—the change-over from nation-states to united nations, from imperialism to commonwealth, and from laissez faire to the welfare state. The economic, social, and political patterns of contemporary Europe provide material for a next section. The final half of the book is then devoted to the “shaping of the grand design” of postwar American foreign policy toward Europe, with a highly interesting account of the development of the European Recovery Program, the North Atlantic Treaty and the Council of Europe, supplemented by discussion of the role of the United Nations as viewed both in this country and abroad. Writing before the outbreak of war in Korea, Mrs. Dean has refused to be swept away by the idea of the inevitability of war between the United States and the Soviet Union. She has attempted to examine both Russian and American foreign policy in Europe objectively, with the result that she seems at times to appear more sympathetic toward the former and critical of the latter than recent developments would justify. The limitations of a book dealing only with Europe and the United States, indeed, give something of an air of unreality to any discussion of the future prospects for peace or of world organization through the United Nations. FOSTER RHEA DULLES, *Ohio State University*

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. By *Edward Hallett Carr*. (New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. vii, 227, \$2.00.) Now that America has entered into intimate relations with Europe it is of prime importance for Americans to understand the ideologies of the radical elements in control of almost every European country. As an introduction to the ideas of the more revolutionary groups there is nothing better in English than the book under review. Nearly all the chapters had originally appeared as review articles in the *Literary Supplement* of the *London Times*. In book form they constitute a small, yet fairly coherent, unit that presents in brief form the leading ideas of European revolutionists, from Saint-Simon to Stalin. The author, Edward Hallett Carr, has a quick and deft way of getting at the kernel of an ideology. He exhibits an extraordinary capacity in analyzing the various schools of revolutionary thought. By far the best parts of the book deal with Russian ideas of which the author has for long been a close student. To the reviewer the significant aspect of the book is that every revolutionary thinker studied by Carr was an opponent of democracy. Not one of them accepted the democratic state in which the citizens are organized into an electorate to struggle for power by means of the ballot. Saint-Simon ignored it. Proudhon repudiated it. Herzen suspected it. Marx denounced it. Sorel eliminated it. And Lenin destroyed it. All of them were convinced that democracy was ineradicably bourgeois,

hence unclean. This despite the steady gains of the working class economically and culturally, under democratic regimes. What was the blind spot that afflicted these revolutionary thinkers? What was the nature of their hatred of democratic methods to ameliorate the lot of "the most numerous and the most poor"? Answers to these questions by Carr, who reveals such keen understanding of the revolutionary mind, would help to clarify the inner springs of totalitarian dictatorship, the most redoubtable of all the enemies of democracy. Carr devotes several interesting chapters to Lenin and Stalin. For the former he expresses great personal admiration but not at all for the latter. Carr makes it abundantly plain that he is an opponent of the Stalin regime, which he severely criticizes because it has abandoned the "fruitful elements of the western tradition." In doing so it has opened the way to the "hidden forces of the Russian past" that have now emerged to harness the revolution to national and imperialist policies. That, according to this English Russophile, is the tragedy of Russia and of the world.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO, *New York City*

MAN THE MAKER: A HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY AND ENGINEERING. By R. J. Forbes. [Life of Science Library.] (New York, Henry Schuman, 1950, pp. 355, \$4.00.) Dr. Robert J. Forbes, professor of the history of science and technology at the Amsterdam (Netherlands) Municipal University, has in this attractive volume traced the story of man's technological accomplishments during the whole course of civilization. Beginning with the use of fire and the fashioning of stone tools in the Old Stone Age, he describes all the ingenious discoveries and mechanical developments that have brought humankind to the Atomic Age. He cites the craftsmen and architects of the great empires of the ancient Near East, with their early aqueducts and canals and their knowledge of metallurgy; the engineers of classical Greece and Rome, with their impressive roads and war engines; the Arabs and their windmills; the technicians of the Middle Ages; the new scientists—Leonardo da Vinci, Bacon, Newton—and the ideas that they promulgated and stimulated; the inventors and fabricators of the time of the Industrial Revolution, with their new machines and innovations, notably the steam engine; the men who conquered distance; and finally the scientists and technicians of modern times, with their multifarious applications of electricity. As pictured, this segment of man's accomplishment, betokening his material "progress," makes an exciting chronicle. The march of invention seems to advance at a constantly accelerating tempo, until during the last hundred pages of the book there is room for no more than bare mention of some of the important recent developments. Details dwindle, but the author explains the basis for his emphasis: He has, he says, restricted himself to such topics as "power resources, transportation and communication, metallurgy, textiles, glass, chemical technology, and some aspects of civil engineering. This selection may seem more arbitrary as we approach modern times, but we have tried above all to stress the continuity of our story even if this means neglecting many new conquests of modern engineering." In a brief final chapter entitled "Technology and Progress," Dr. Forbes attempts to capitulate some of the anomalies of our present civilization and to suggest some avenues whereby the organic and spiritual may catch up with the material, but this is not a too forceful epilogue, and the book's chief and lasting value will lie in its compact and skillful recounting of man's conquest of some of the laws of nature and his genius in applying new knowledge to the needs of his own comfort and existence.

PAUL H. OEHSER, *Smithsonian Institution*

SOUTH AFRICA UNDER KING SEBASTIAN AND THE CARDINAL, 1557-1580. By Sidney R. Welch. (Cape Town, Juta, 1949, pp. 487, 30s.) Professor Bolton was, I

believe, the first to popularize the term "Spanish Borderlands" as applied to those parts of the United States that were at one time under the dominion of Spain, the frontier area of the viceroyalty of New Spain. We might for similar reasons of history call South Africa the "Portuguese Borderlands," the peripheral area, in a sense, of the viceroyalty of Goa. But whether the analogy is valid or not, it is of course with the Portuguese period of South African history that Dr. Welch is concerned; and in his latest book, another in a series of books on the old Portuguese Empire (as distinguished from the new one, which was really created following the independence of Brazil in 1822), he has carried the story from the beginning of the reign of the unlucky King Sebastian to the death of his great-uncle, Cardinal King Henry. In chapters of surpassing interest, developed in a vivid narrative style, he has dwelt upon such topics as the development of Mozambique, the church in South Africa, the trade of eastern Ethiopia, the Kafir invasion of 1589, Francisco Barreto on the Zambezi, the Inquisition in Goa and South Africa, Bantu life and customs, Morocco and the eclipse of the House of Aviz, and the English and Dutch beggars of the sea. Dr. Welch has properly underscored a number of things time and time again. One is that the Portuguese knew how to deal with the natives; another, that the Portuguese, on the eve of their "Babylonian Captivity," had not yet lost their power or vigor. The author makes clear that Portugal, despite the great losses suffered in the course of building an empire, still had a formidable navy and still had the best seamen. Dr. Welch continues in this book the moralizing tendencies that are apparent in at least some of his other works, and some objections have already been raised in this connection. But because so many unfair interpretations of Portuguese colonial history have been current, even to the extent, as Sir Richard Burton admitted, of attributing to English explorers, in the words of Dr. Welch, "some of the glory in African development that really belongs to Portugal," I have found the author's point of view on the whole refreshing. Actually the author has placed us very much in his debt by giving us the best thing that I have read in English on a subject that should by no means be alien to us. It is especially good to have the story of Portugal in this part of Africa told by a South African for South Africans. Many citizens of the Union have not been friendly with their Portuguese neighbors, particularly of Mozambique, perhaps because of ignorance. With the appearance of Dr. Welch's book, his countrymen of British and Dutch ancestry will have the opportunity of knowing a great deal about the Portuguese period of their own national history. Needless to say, the book will be exceedingly helpful to others, and to the specialist as well as to the general reader. In its preparation the author has made abundant use of printed sources. He has referred to them in 630 notes.

MANOEL CARDOZO, *Catholic University of America*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

ASPECTS OF THE PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS: HISTORICAL COMMENTS ON THE COLONIAL COINAGE ISSUED OUTSIDE SPAIN. By Michael Grant. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 116.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1950, pp. xviii, 199, plates, \$5.00.) We are accustomed to standardized coin-types and do not look at the "image and superscription"; our special stamp issues interest philatelists more than the public. In contrast, Roman coinage showed a wide range of legends and types. Not all of these can have had a specific purpose nor can their purposes when specific have been universally realized (many personal allusions on late Republican coins can have meant little save to the moneyers), but in general the symbolism of coins was much more precise and intelligible than that of funerary art. The issues of imperial mints show how the administration wished its policies to be regarded; those of colonial mints show how local authorities understood them. For these questions the reader may with profit turn to Grant's *Roman Anniversary Issues* and to his paper in *Greece and Rome*, XVIII (1949), 97 ff. In the present volume Grant shows from coins how the policy of Tiberius continued that of Augustus in his later years. He enlarged the role of the senate and was sincere, if hardly successful, in his desire for partnership, even as in his shunning of extravagant honors. He emphasized *auspicia* and his pontificate, just as he showed Livia as priestess; the guise of piety was preferable to that of power, and the emperor's personal predilection for astral fatalism probably left unaffected the old sentiment that Roman prosperity depended on pious observances. (For the *auspicia* cf. Horace, *Odes*, III 6, 10 [in its context].) Grant has much that is illuminating on these themes, as also on Peace and its Altar,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

on the concept of the Julian House, and on the habit of representing the Temple of Vesta on Augustan anniversaries. (It would be helpful if more coin abbreviations were explained.) Here as in his other works, Grant shows an extraordinary mastery of the material, published and unpublished alike, great subtlety, and an invincible determination to wrest their secrets from coins. He has already contributed much and bids fair to contribute a great deal more to the amazing advance, initiated by Mattingly, in the study of Roman imperial currency as a principal source of historical knowledge.

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK, *Harvard University*

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Medieval History

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ACTA STEPHANI LANGTON, CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI A.D. 1207-1228. Collected, Transcribed, and Edited by *Kathleen Major*, Reader in Diplomatic in the University of Oxford. [Canterbury and York Series, Volume L.] (Oxford, At the University Press, 1950, pp. li, 200.) The lack of an authoritative manual of English diplomatic gives this admirably edited volume high value apart from the new material it contains. There could be no better demonstration, both of what can be done in this field and of its importance to the scholar, than Miss Major's masterly analysis (pp. xxi-li) of the form and style of Archbishop Langton's *acta*, the personnel of his chancery, and the script of his clerks. The series of archiepiscopal registers had not begun in 1207; the 143 documents here printed have been assembled by Miss Major, over twenty years, from some thirty-seven different depositaries in England and France, and she adds twenty-one references to *acta* now lost. The term covers letters, grants, confirmations, certificates of ordinations and institutions, judgments, and promulgations of papal bulls, reflecting the many-sided activities of the great scholar and statesman who was at once the king's first baron, the pope's delegate, the primate of all England, the bishop of a diocese, and the landlord of extensive estates. A few of the deeds have direct political significance: the remarkable bond relating to the first episcopal election after John's charter to the church (no. 11), the note of the barons' refusal to give a written pledge of fealty to John after Runnymede (no. 17), the summons to the church councils of 1226, so important in the history of representation and taxation (nos. 79, 83, 89, 94). (Incidentally, we should welcome an explanation of the difference of the version in Wilkins' *Concilia*.) Documents concerned with the archbishop's military and free tenants may well record transactions in his feudal court (nos. 39, 40, 103); one is read out in the court of Westgate hundred (p. 54), another in the shire-court of Kent (p. 16). Several judgments reflect Langton's tact and gift for compromise (e.g., nos. 27, 62). But, by her own high standards, is Miss Major justified in terming the award or *ordinacis* in no. 54 a "verdict"? Twentieth century laxity ascribes "verdicts" even to the Supreme Court, but surely the thirteenth century still distinguished between the functions of judge and jury.

HELEN M. CAM, *Harvard University*

THE *ANGLICA HISTORIA* OF POLYDORE VERGIL, A.D. 1485-1537. Edited with a Translation by *Denys Hay*. [Camden Series, Third Series, Volume LXXIV.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1950, pp. xlii, 373.) Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* has been known to scholars hitherto in three editions. The first two (1534, 1546) carry the narrative to 1509; the third (1555) carries it to 1537. Two earlier volumes of the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Camden Series presented a sixteenth century translation of the material from the beginnings to 1066 and from 1461 to 1485. The present volume is a fine definitive edition of all Vergil's narrative of the Tudor period. Down to 1513 it is based upon a manuscript in Vergil's own hand written in 1512-13 and now in the Vatican. This has the obvious advantage of being closer to the events described than any printed edition. The many revisions made in the first and succeeding published versions are given at the bottom of the page. For the period 1513-37 the text of the 1555 edition is given. The editor has added an illuminating introduction on the value of Vergil's work as a historical source and its place in Tudor historiography, a literal translation of the text, and an excellent index. All in all, this is a work of impeccable editing and scholarship. Mr. Hay demonstrates convincingly that Vergil's account of Henry VIII's reign is entirely independent of Hall's and so must be taken seriously as a contemporary source. All the evidence indicates that Vergil finished a first version in 1513, revising for publication just before 1534, and again about 1546. Therefore the fact that the printed account of Henry VIII's reign appeared first only in 1555 is not so significant as Busch and others thought. Perhaps the most interesting subject of study which emerges from the present edition is that of Vergil's successive revisions from manuscript to printed versions. Most of the changes are stylistic, but many reflect the changing political atmosphere between 1513, 1534, and 1546. His ambiguous attitude toward the rising nationalism of his day is another problem suggested by editor and text alike. He had only contempt for the xenophobia of 1517, but his own Italian patriotism was warm and he certainly disliked the French. Perhaps his influence on later Tudor historians was not so great as Mr. Hay maintains—humanistic influences reached Elizabethan writers through many channels—but the editor is certainly right in his contention that it was Vergil who created the mental stereotype of the first two Tudors which is still accepted by most Englishmen today.

E. HARRIS HARBISON, *Princeton University*

DE HANZE EN VLAANDEREN. By Jozef Hubert Aloysius Beuken. (Maastricht, Ernest van Aelst, 1950, pp. 205.) In tracing the development of Hanseatic relations with Bruges from the beginning of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, *De Hanze en Vlaanderen*, a doctoral dissertation submitted in the University of Nijmegen, is saved by its topical breadth from being of interest exclusively to specialists. The first part of the thesis is introductory, synoptical, and derivative; the second and largest is concerned with recurrent difficulties between Bruges and the north German towns from 1280 to 1457. While the continuity of development during the intervals of undisturbed intercourse seems relatively neglected, there is no satisfactory summary which recapitulates *in toto* the effects of conflict. The final part describes the decline of the factory in Bruges and its transference to Antwerp. Without analyzing the causes of the internal tensions and external opposition which ended in the dissolution of Hanseatic power, Beuken limits himself to correlating and explaining the results of his investigation of the sources, principally *Die Recesse und andere Akten der Hansestage*. The significant role of the rising commerce and industry of the Low Countries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries receives less than adequate attention—a shortcoming excusable in a dissertation, yet, in view of the scope of this monograph, a conspicuous omission. Further assessment of the ramifications of the policy of Lübeck in relation to Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands might have proved enlightening. Through the categorical exclusion of unpublished sources available to him—with a reference to the apparent exhaustion of archival material by previous research—the author seriously limits the value of his study. Since it is explicitly described as a synthesis of existing historiography on his subject, the omission of a few items pertinent

to Flemish economic history should be noted. Considered as a tool for the researcher, in its compression of information extending over the wide chronological span of Hanseatic-Flemish relations, Beuken's work is useful to the student of the Hansa or the Low Countries; as a probing of the causes of the rise and fall of economic entities, even the two specified in the title, *De Hanze en Vlaanderen* seems less rewarding.

WILLIAM L. WINTER, *Teachers College of Connecticut*

ERASMUS AND THE SPANISH INQUISITION: THE CASE OF JUAN DE VALDÉS. By *John E. Longhurst*. [University of New Mexico Publications in History, Number One.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1950, pp. 114, \$1.00.) Here is a serviceable and objective study of Erasmism in Spain and of the relations of Erasmists, particularly Juan de Valdés, with the Inquisition. The personality of Valdés, whose influence on Italian heretics of the Cinquecento was uniquely personal, is emerging by degrees. His letters to Cardinal Gonzaga revealed an impatience with papal malingering out of harmony with the gentle and retiring spirit he was supposed to be, and equally full-blooded was the Juan de Valdés who was adept at swapping scandalous stories of the monks with Diego Gracian de Alderete from the time he was a university student and even after he came into suspicion of heresy (pp. 24-27). Dr. Longhurst, concentrating on the green years, has attempted to fill in the picture of this scion of a Castilian house who, whether a heretic or not, chose exile to the tender mercies of the tribunal against which even Charles V had to give ground. Since "The Case of Juan de Valdés" is the subtitle, the reader would perhaps prefer to begin with chapters VIII ("The Spanish Inquisition") and IX ("Erasmism and the Inquisition"), which more naturally accord with the title. Thereafter it is still only glimpses which we get of the contact of the young Valdés with illuminists, with the court of Charles V (through his brother Alfonso, with whom he took refuge when the heat was on), with the scholars of Alcalá, and with the *Suprema*; but the critical bibliography (pp. 97-114) shows clearly the range of material, printed and unprinted, from which the account was distilled. How he became involved with the Inquisition is a problem in view of the disappearance of the *proceso* to which reference is made in a marginal notation of that of his friend Juan de Vergara (p. 48). When and why was clearly because of his *Diálogo de Doctrina Christiana* of 1529, with an analysis of which the book closes (chapter x). Though the examiners evidently found heresy in it, the ideas expounded by the archbishop to the priest and the monk seem to the author simply "ideas such as . . . could not be expressed with impunity in Spain by 1530" (p. 79). Here is nothing of the spirit of the correspondence with Gracian, though there is temperate criticism of clerical ignorance (pp. 92-93). True Christianity is a matter of faith, hope, and love, and Christian belief is a matter of inner knowledge (pp. 81-82). The emphasis on ceremonies is deprecated (pp. 90-92). After that, it is not surprising to find the *Enchiridion* among books to be read by the Christian (p. 94). Dr. Longhurst has offered, in this small volume, a timely reminder of inquisitorial procedure in an age supposedly less tolerant than ours.

FREDERIC C. CHURCH, *University of Idaho*

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

*Leland H. Carlson*¹

ENGLAND BEFORE ELIZABETH. By *Helen Cam*, Professor of History in Harvard University, Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, Late Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society. [Hutchinson's University Library, No. 37.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1950, pp. xii, 184, text \$1.60, trade \$2.00.) "The story we have to trace," says Miss Cam in the introduction, "is that of the evolution of the English nation." Her faith in the importance of that development during the period under consideration is indicated by the statement: "In this country before all others it is our medieval ancestors who have made us what we are." To tell a story of such magnitude within such brief compass without distortion or dullness is a task of great difficulty. More aspects of the subject have to be omitted than are included. As one reads this or that section he may think of omitted topics which appear to be as important as some of those which are treated, but if he weighs the topics in relation to the narrative as a whole, their selection seems to be judicious. Two of the principal dangers in such a work are generalizations more sweeping than the evidence warrants and the mention of persons or events without sufficient explanations to make their significance apparent to the reader. The author's profound and comprehensive knowledge of the sources has enabled her to avoid errors of these types to a remarkable extent. Her love of the subject combined with her stylistic ability to make a few words go a long way have produced a story which steadily maintains the interest of the reader instead of a mere condensed outline of the history of the period which might easily have been the result of such brevity of treatment. The book can be read with enjoyment and with confidence in the perspective of the broad view of the general nature of the contributions made by successive generations to the production of English civilization. It should serve to change the opinion of those who regard medieval England as dark or unprogressive and of interest only to antiquarians.

WILLIAM E. LUNT, *Haverford College*

THE CHANNEL ISLANDS UNDER TUDOR GOVERNMENT, 1485-1642: A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY. By *A. J. Eagleston*, Sometime Scholar of Balliol College. (New York, Cambridge University Press for the Guernsey Society, 1949, pp. xii, 194, \$3.75.) Author John Eagleston died in January, 1944, leaving behind him the typescript of this book, which has been prepared for the press by Professor John Le Patourel of the University of Leeds, himself a productive scholar in the administrative history of the Channel Islands. Eagleston was at once a scholar and, during a large part of his life, an assistant secretary of the British Home Office. In his official capacity he was for a time in charge of Channel Islands affairs and so learned the problems of administration at first hand. After his retirement in 1932, he addressed himself diligently to the study of the history of the Islands. A good deal of what he wrote took the form of articles in the publications of the Société Jersaise and the Société Guernesiaise. Probably no one in the last thirty years has made more important contributions to the administrative history of the Islands, unless it be Professor Le Patourel, his literary executor. The book is confessedly an administrative study and is definitely limited to the period of the Tudors and the early Stuarts. It is based

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

largely upon material in print, though Eagleston certainly examined and utilized in manuscript the significant documents in the English Record Office. Students of Tudor and early Stuart history, even if they are not immediately interested in the Islands, ought to be aware of some rather unique features of their administration. Of these two are particularly striking: first, the virtual establishment of Presbyterianism in the Islands under Elizabeth, notwithstanding her Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity and her rooted antipathy to Presbyterianism in England; second, the recognition by both France and England of the neutrality of the Islands in war, a neutrality not always scrupulously observed, but in the main effective. More obviously significant is the loyalty of these French islanders to the English crown, at the same time that they held tenaciously to their Norman speech and their Norman customary law. The book is well written and well printed. Its publication was made possible by the generosity of the historical societies of Guernsey and Jersey, and of Eagleston's old college, Balliol. Professor Le Patourel's self-effacing editorial work is entirely adequate.

CONYERS READ, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR LEWIS DYVE, 1599-1669. By *H. G. Tibbutt*.

[Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, Volume XXVII.] (Streatley, the Society, 1948, pp. vi, 156.) Sir Lewis Dyve, a Cavalier of wealth and position, was forty-two years old when the Civil Wars began; yet he took to soldiering with the greatest avidity and proved himself a valorous, colorful, and able commander. His political creed was the simple one of absolute loyalty to the king, against whose enemies he displayed at all times the most violent and implacable hostility. He served as colonel of a regiment of foot, led a troop of horse in daring raids in Bedfordshire and in neighboring counties, and was governor of various royalist strongholds. He defended Sherborne Castle in Dorset against the full weight of the New Model Army. Here he was taken prisoner but escaped to Scotland, was captured again at Preston, but escaped once more by leaping through the privy of a house in Whitehall down two stories into the Thames in the dead of winter and by swimming to safety. He made his way to the Isle of Man, to Ireland, to the Low Countries, and to France, serving the king where he could and seeing military action in a French campaign in Italy. He survived to return to England at the Restoration. This book is a scholarly piece of work, and a great deal of careful, diligent, and accurate research has gone into it. But it is overburdened with too many long quotations from source materials. These long quotations, in some of which a reference to Dyve is only found lurking in a corner, make the book rather heavy reading and scarcely do justice to the adventurous career of the bold Sir Lewis.

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON, *University of Minnesota*

FROM PURITANISM TO THE AGE OF REASON: A STUDY OF CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT WITHIN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND 1660 TO 1700.

By *G. R. Cragg*. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1950, pp. vi, 241.) It is a matter of common observation that despite the break with Rome the *Weltanschauung* of the Age of Elizabeth differed less from that of the Age of Henry II than the *Weltanschauung* of Englishmen after the Glorious Revolution differed from that of their fathers before the Great Rebellion. Decades in the 1600's wrought alterations greater than centuries had made in an earlier era. One of the oldest and finest studies of this drastic change in the way Englishmen sensed the world was the work of William Lecky—*The Rise of Rationalism in Europe*. More recently in his *Seventeenth Century Background* Basil Willey, restricting his investigations to England from Bacon to Locke, has traced the development of the new temper with great perceptiveness. And now G. R. Cragg in his essay *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason* has

more sharply pinpointed the critical period of change as the four decades between 1660 and 1700. The task of investigating the religious writings in which in those decades Englishmen incorporated their sense of the world could not have been very attractive. For despite the profound significance of the era in the history of thought the writers of the time were extremely pedestrian, their writings are abnormally dull, and their conclusions, whether accepted or rejected today, have become mummified into platitudes. Mr. Cragg has thoroughly investigated the contemporary literature bearing on the remarkable surge of rationalism that marked the later seventeenth century—the ephemeral pamphlet literature, and the ponderous and forgotten treatises by forgotten men, as well as the outpouring of better known thinkers—the Cambridge Platonists, Glanville, Sprat, Tillotson, Toland, Boyle, Locke, Newton. His work is sufficiently detailed not to require redoing. The body of the study is divided into sections on the “Eclipse of Calvinism,” the Cambridge Platonists, the Latitudinarians, the “Impact of the New Science,” “The Religious Significance of John Locke,” “John Toland and the Rise of Deism,” “The Church and the Civil Power,” “Toleration—the Triumph of an Idea.” The result is the most detailed available anatomy of the replacement of older patterns of thought and feeling by new ones during the Restoration—enthusiasm by common sense, fideism by rationalism, religiosity by secularism, divine right by contract theory, Aristotelian metaphysics by empirical science, persecution and repression by toleration, the exaltation of order by the exaltation of liberty. The main outline of Cragg’s argument follows closely that of Basil Willey. The change was in part an addition and gain—positive scientific knowledge for baseless notions, reason for superstition, liberty for persecution. But it was also in part a subtraction and loss. The area of experience was circumscribed, the range of feeling leveled, imagination and emotion were almost proscribed, and human sensibility was blunted. The new pattern of thought is ascribed to the rise of modern science, to reaction against Puritan enthusiasm, and to subsequent reaction against the consequences of Anglican authoritarianism. Although Dr. Cragg does not offer us many novel insights into the process of intellectual change during the Restoration, his account of that process is solid, scholarly, and very handy to have. J. H. HEXTER, *Queens College, New York*

THE JACOBITE MOVEMENT: THE LAST PHASE, 1716–1807. Volume II. By Sir Charles Petrie, President of the Military History Society of Ireland, Corresponding Member of the Royal Spanish Academy of History. (New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. xi, 221, \$2.75.) This interesting and pleasantly written book is the second and concluding volume of a survey of Jacobitism from beginning to end. There are advantages in the long view. It reveals how supporters in England, less so in Scotland, became motivated less by romantic attachment than by political discontent. By 1760 the hatred of foreigners, which had told against William III and the first two Hanoverians, was an asset to George III, a native Englishman unlike the sons of the titular James III. Similarly abroad, the Stuart cause degenerated into a weapon to be used or discarded as national interests dictated. It is curious to see how Sir Charles Petrie, though demonstrating the decline of sentiment, should himself be swayed by it. His view seems to be that Bonnie Prince Charlie not only deserved to win a crown for his father but would have done so if he could have persuaded his followers to advance on London from Derby instead of retreating. But it is hard to believe that some 4,500 men (p. 93) could conquer England or even London. Sir Charles is convinced that James III would have been a constitutional and tolerant monarch if restored to the throne that “was his by right.” Whether his staunch Roman Catholicism would have permitted him long to rule over Protestant England, even if restored, is at least doubtful. But the worst flight of imagination of which Sir Charles is guilty is the revival of

the old absurdity that Dr. Johnson was out in '45. Appendix VII, devoted to this matter, concludes that the arguments in favor are individually of no great significance but collectively appear to point to the conclusion stated above. Why very weak arguments when taken together should point anywhere is not obvious. The illustrations to this book are distinctly good, but the bibliography is an odd mixture of old and modern, secondary authorities greatly predominating over sources, among which the Stuart papers at Windsor Castle are not here mentioned, although the author seems to have done some research among them. GODFREY DAVIES, *Huntington Library*

THE NOBLE DUKE OF YORK: THE MILITARY LIFE OF FREDERICK DUKE OF YORK AND ALBANY. By Lieutenant Colonel *Alfred H. Burne*. (New York, Staples Press, 1949, pp. 350, \$4.00.) This study of generalship under difficulties deals primarily with the British campaigns in Flanders in 1793-95 and in North Holland in 1799. Based as it is on wide examination of the sources and personal knowledge of the battlefields, it rectifies many errors as to what actually happened and makes a contrast between the wasted victories of the first small expeditionary force and the fruitless mission assigned to the raw recruits who bore the burden in 1795. But this is more than just a study of tactics or even of strategy. Because Lieutenant Colonel Burne looks at the command problems of those campaigns through the duke of York's eyes, he is able to show what it was like to have Austrians, Dutch, Prussians, and Russians as allies, Mack as one's ablest collaborator, and Pitt, Dundas, and Windham as superiors. Especially from the duke's letters to his father, George III, there emerges a picture of him as an adequate field general hampered by ill-judged instructions and faithless allies, a maligned prince expiating the faults of others along with his own, and an able and successful administrator who later put to good use the combination of royal rank and field experience to deserve the praise Sir John Fortescue has given him as "the best Commander in chief that has ever ruled the Army" (Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, VII, 31). It is therefore to be regretted that Colonel Burne has merely outlined the administrative part of the duke's career, aside from a valuable re-examination of the Clarke scandal.

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JAMES ISHAM'S OBSERVATIONS AND NOTES, 1743-1749. Edited with an Introduction by *E. E. Rich*, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, XII.] (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1949, pp. cv, 352, xv.) A little more than twenty years ago, the Hudson's Bay Company occasioned something of a stir among historians by announcing that its archives were at last to be made accessible to the public, thus reversing a policy that had previously constituted an insuperable obstacle to any adequate study of the history of the enterprise which had its origin in 1670. Since this announcement there have been published, under the joint auspices of the Hudson's Bay Record Society and the Champlain Society, twelve volumes of records of which *James Isham's Observations and Notes* is the latest to appear. James Isham entered the service of the company as a keeper of accounts in 1732. In 1737 he was placed in charge of the factory at York and in 1741 was commissioned chief factor at the Prince of Wales's Fort in the Churchill River area. He continued to serve the company in various capacities until his death at York Factory in 1761. The present volume, along with much editorial material, contains three principal items: "Observations on Hudson's Bay," probably written during the winter of 1742-43; "Notes and Observations," a document in the nature of a critical commentary on a book by one Henry Ellis, which contained an account of an expedition to the Hudson Bay region in 1746-47, promoted by cer-

tain interests hostile to the company; and lastly "Isham's Journal" kept in 1746-47, which also comments upon relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the expedition which is the subject of the volume by Ellis previously mentioned. The first of these documents, "Observations on Hudson's Bay," contains much miscellaneous information relating to the Indians, including their language and culture, the fur trade and its methods, and the plant and animal life of the Hudson Bay region. The other two items contain similar information while they also reveal the friction which existed between the company and rival English interests. It is apparent that the company was at times forced to take vigorous measures to preserve its monopoly against hostile attack. A long and scholarly introduction and other editorial apparatus, prepared by E. E. Rich, assisted by A. M. Johnson, archivist of the company, provide a very necessary historical background to the documents themselves. The history of the company during the period in question, while previously little understood, is obviously complex and this is primarily a volume for the student rather than the casual reader. The typography, editing, illustrations, and general format of the volume conform to the very high standards which are associated with the publications of the Champlain Society. The inclusion of a simple outline map of the Hudson Bay region would have been a great convenience to the reader.

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

LOUIS XIV. By Hubert Méthivier, Agrégé de l'Université. [Que sais-je? no. 426.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1950, pp. 126.) This is a book for the cultured layman and for the *lycéen* who needs to do reading assignments parallel with his textbook or lectures. The special student of seventeenth century France will find in it little stimulation. The author has drawn heavily upon Lavissee, Sagnac, and Pagès for his information and, so far as the reviewer can see, offers no new interpretations. Yet the book serves well the purpose for which it was intended. The story it tells is simple, indeed

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

is oversimplified. The brief chapters deal with France and French society in 1661, the king and his court at Versailles, the various agencies of government, the royal quest for glory and grandeur, the attempts to establish religious uniformity, and the economic and financial difficulties that lurked in the background of the Great King's enterprises. In the background, too, one catches glimpses of intermittent famines in the rural districts and periods of unemployment and industrial depression in the cities. Toward the end of the reign there were whisperings of discontent with government by divine right.

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LE SECOND EMPIRE. By *Marcel Blanchard*, Ancien Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. [Collection Armand Colin (Section d'Histoire et Sciences économiques), No. 258.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1950, pp. 220, 180 fr.) In his preface (pp. 7-8), Professor Blanchard admits that it will be impossible for him to discuss in detail all important phases of the Second Empire. Instead, in this short volume of about two hundred pages he intends to describe the numerous and complex problems confronting Napoleon III; to emphasize the remarkable contributions made by the emperor in the "material" development of the states; and to show how Louis Napoleon's foreign policy resulted in a catastrophe for France. While the phases upon which the author chooses to evaluate the Second Empire are probably somewhat simplified, they are a good choice and seem to be a fresh approach to the subject. Moreover the author reveals in this little volume that he possesses a real grasp of the significant events of the Second Empire and an unusual ability to present with brevity an effective synthesis of a complicated period. True, he produces little that is new and in a few cases fails to include material that is essential even in a brief treatment of the subject. Nevertheless, Professor Blanchard has written a well-integrated book, and in his sections dealing with internal matters he has brought together information that can be found in no similar work. The volume contains a bibliography listing many important works covering various phases of the Second Empire. But there are few footnotes. Apparently the author has based his book largely on the volumes cited in his bibliography.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke¹

CAPITALISM IN AMSTERDAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Violet Barbour. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXVII, No. 1.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1950, pp. 171, xiv, \$2.50.) It is unusual to find an American or British author who is not of Dutch descent writing a book on an important phase of Dutch history that surpasses in many respects the work done by Dutch scholars in the field. This is what Violet Barbour has actually done, using original manuscript sources, consulting all the significant contributions printed, and producing a very valuable documentation. Only on one occasion has she made a slip that betrays a lack of thorough familiarity with the Dutch scene: on page 88 a well-known street in Amsterdam is called the Warmussgasse, which name was no doubt used by a German scholar. In the notes very few typographical errors can be detected. Everywhere the author has shown herself to be a very competent critic, of which American educators may well be proud. The theme discussed is of much greater significance than the paper cover of the book would seem to indicate. It is indeed "surprising that there is nothing available in English on the history of Amsterdam, and even in the general economic histories of Europe no adequate treatment of the city in the century in which she was supreme in Europe" (p. 144). This may be said even of widely known works published in Europe. The impression seems to prevail far too commonly that before the Industrial Revolution commerce and industry were hardly worthy of attention on the part of British or American scholars. Amsterdam in particular suffered from neglect, which appears all the more remarkable when we consider the influence this city exerted upon the growth of modern capitalism. Moreover, Amsterdam played an important part in the development of insurance, the printing industry, realistic painting, shipbuilding, social justice, scientific inquiry, and philosophical research. How many American scholars know that the first sawmill, first papermill, first powder-mill, and first glass furnace in Russia were Dutch enterprises (p. 119)? How many were taught the significance of Dutch scientific labors in Japan during the time (1641-1853) when only Dutch merchants and scientists out of all European and American nations were permitted to live in Japan?

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

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THE AUSTRIAN ELECTORAL REFORM OF 1907. By William Alexander Jenks, Assistant Professor of History, Washington and Lee University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 559.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1950, pp. 227, \$3.25.) The author of this valuable monograph treats the great reform law of 1907, in the Austrian half of the former Habsburg monarchy, by which universal and equal manhood suffrage for elections to the lower house of the parliament

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

was introduced. A real parliamentary life could not develop in Austria because of unreconciled nationalistic tendencies of political groups representing the nine peoples of the polyglot empire. The leading Austrian statesmen who sponsored the reform hoped to cure nationalism through democracy and thus to save the Austrian state. Professor Jenks does not omit the personal role that the aged emperor Francis Joseph played in bringing about the reform. In critical stages he exercised decisive pressure on the politically privileged classes, landed nobility and urban bourgeoisie. Naturally these social groups were reluctant to yield their positions. The author's detailed presentation of the struggle for electoral reform will particularly please those readers who still possess personal knowledge of former Austrian politics. One may also agree with Professor Jenks's statement that the electoral reform of 1907 failed because universal suffrage alone could not solve the Austrian problem, and that a federalization of the state was necessary. However, "national autonomy," within the limits of the Austrian Empire, had been well under way since the beginning of the century. It was intensively discussed and advocated in contemporary political literature, and partly attempted in practice, e.g., in the national compromise of the province of Moravia to which the author refers. Moreover, Francis Joseph's unfortunate successor, Emperor Charles, tried to transform Austria into a federation of her nationalities. The destruction of the Danubian monarchy made this impossible.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

CATHERINE THE GREAT AND THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIA. By Gladys Scott Thomson. [Teach Yourself History Library]. (New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. x, 294, \$2.00.) *Catherine the Great and the Expansion of Russia* is a well-written little book, almost wholly free from errors of fact. If it adds nothing to our knowledge of the subject, it is yet well designed to fulfill its avowed purpose, to bring to "the general reading public" a reliable and not uninteresting presentation of the fruits of modern scholarship with respect to "a significant historical theme." Its principal defect is one inherent in the concept of portraying historical developments through the medium of biography. Much in the life of any "great man" (or woman) is inevitably irrelevant to major trends, especially social, economic, and cultural: to omit such personal matter is to warp the biography; to include it is to confuse the reader as to the significance of underlying developments. The cumulative forces of history can be but superficially affected by the personalities of highly placed persons, save so far as the individual has

the wit to move with, rather than against, the tide. The author of the present volume essays to find a remedy by inserting chapters devoted to the general social and cultural phenomena but fails to make clear how Catherine's position and, consequently, her attitude were affected by them; notably is this true of the chapter on Pugachev, one of the most significant passages in her reign. The bibliography, intended as a guide for further reading, somewhat oddly assumes general knowledge of French and German, while ignoring works such as those of Katharine Anthony, which might seem more likely to hold the reader's interest than are the heavier "standard" studies.

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

BRIDGE TO ISLĀM: A STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS FORCES OF ISLĀM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE NEAR EAST. By *Erich W. Bethmann*. (Nashville, Southern Publishing Association, 1950, pp. 284, \$2.25.) The book receives its title from the heading of chapter xviii (p. 238), where we are told the Christian missionaries are the ones to build the bridge over the gorge that separates Islam from Christianity. The author himself was a missionary for twenty years in the Near East. His book is addressed primarily to the general reader and more particularly to "those who look forward to a life of usefulness in the hands of Islam." The material is drawn from sources mostly, but not entirely, scholarly, and from personal experience. It presents sketchily the life of Muhammad, the fundamentals of Islam, interrelationship between the two religions and the situation in each of these countries: Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, Egypt, Turkey, and Iran. Several Arabic names and words—Āmina (pp. 44, 271), 'Ali (pp. 45, 129, 140, etc.), 'Adi (p. 154), *ghazu* (p. 45), Karbala (p. 148, cf. p. 277), Banyās (p. 170), *Hilāl* (p. 183), Sa'di (pp. 228, 281), Ayyūbi (p. 232, cf. p. 257)—are mispronounced or mistransliterated. It was not 'Umar the Orthodox but 'Umar the Umayyad caliph who ordered distinctive dress to be worn by Christians and Jews (p. 85). The Sabaeans mentioned in an inscription of Sargon were not those of al-Yaman (p. 128) but of colonists in North Arabia. France did not exactly "create" independent Lebanon (p. 163), as it had been an internationally recognized autonomous state since 1860. The book is provided with tables of the ruling houses of Islam, a bibliography and an index.

PHILIP K. HITTI, *Princeton University*

THE REPUBLIC OF ISRAEL: ITS HISTORY AND ITS PROMISE. By *Joseph Dunner*. (New York, Whittlesey House, 1950, pp. xvi, 269, \$4.75.) The re-establishment of the State of Israel has been a prayer and a dream for almost 2,000 years. It is quite understandable that when the dream became reality in May, 1948, marking the debut of the third Hebrew commonwealth in history, many people wanted to know why it had happened and what forces brought the state into being. There was an eager audience ready to receive the history of the State of Israel. A number of books have appeared before and since Dr. Dunner's book. This reviewer, while acknowledging the service this book will render, believes that it is not the definitive history of the State of Israel. Perhaps this book was written too fast, in order to meet the public's current interest in Israel. Perhaps its author lived too close to the heat of the events to do them the justice of the calm perspective of history. In objective fairness, however, it must be added that, although the book seems to be written not so much by a historian as by an observer, it carries the conviction and the devotion of one who sees his cause and dream fulfilled. For a rapid survey of the immediate political forces which brought the State of Israel into being this book can be read with profit. But when one looks for a delineation of the basic historic forces that brought Zionism into being and kept it going in the face of hostility and indifference one will not find much in this book. There is, for one thing, far too little of the history of Zionism in the United States (where this book will have its widest public), whose leaders perhaps more than any other brought about the transformation of the dream of Zionism into

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

the reality of the State of Israel. Nor does the author mention the historic service of intensive education, propaganda, and political work which paid off in President Truman's *de jure* recognition of the State of Israel. Such names as Gottheil, de Haas, Brandeis, Mack, Wise, Lipsky, Silver, and others deserve ampler consideration by a historian who would do justice to the movement in this country. This reviewer noted also how few historical works on the Zionist movement the author included in his bibliography, the paucity of which may be the reason for his cavalier treatment of the many worthies of the movement, inside and outside the United States. To mention a few works which might have enriched the book this reviewer notes the writings of Ahad Ha-Am, the philosopher of the movement, Sokolow's monumental *History of Zionism*, Gottheil's *Zionism*, Revusky's *Jews in Palestine*, Infeld's *Cooperative Living in Palestine*, Crum's *Behind the Silken Curtain*, etc. As far as it goes, and this book does not go far or deep enough, it will serve to whet the appetite of readers for a more informative, mature and historically oriented book on the new State of Israel.

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard¹

THE GARDEN OF PERFECT BRIGHTNESS: THE HISTORY OF THE YÜAN MING YÜAN AND OF THE EMPERORS WHO LIVED THERE. By *Hope Danby*. Introductory Note by Sir *John T. Pratt*. (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1950, pp. 239, \$3.50.) The Chinese imperial garden whose history for a century and a half (1709-1860) is recounted in this attractive book was known as the Yüan Ming Yüan, the Garden of Perfect Brightness. Situated some seven miles northwest of Peking, it

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

was the favorite retreat of five successive emperors from the seclusion of the Forbidden City. Its destruction in 1860 by combined English and French forces is an event which, however condoned at the time, cannot in retrospect be regarded with complacency. Mrs. Danby studied the ruined site with care, utilizing both Western and Chinese sources to recapture in imagination the architectural and scenic glories of the place. The life that the emperors and their attendants lived there—a strange mixture of the sordid and the sublime—is told with understanding and with commendable care for historical veracity. A few stories are included that are based on little more than hearsay, but the reader is informed of this fact. The author acknowledges her indebtedness to the excellent study made by Professor Carroll B. Malone, and published in 1934 under the title *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch'ing Dynasty*. She cites vivid details also from the letters written to Europe by the Jesuit artisans who after 1747 planned the European structures that stood out discordantly in one sector of the great villa. Then, too, there are the impressions left by members of the Macartney (1794) and the Amherst (1816) embassies, men whose minds were only partly attuned to the studied irregularities of Chinese garden architecture. It was a happy thought to enliven the book with plans of the buildings, with portraits of the emperors, and with some half dozen reproductions of the famous *Forty Scenes of the Yüan Ming Yüan* executed in the 1740's. Except for occasional confusion in dates, such as placing the Mid-Autumn Festival "on the 9th Day of the 9th Moon" instead of the 15th Day of the 8th Moon, this is a book which one can read with confidence and pleasure. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, *Washington, D. C.*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1933. In five volumes. Volume III, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 3508.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949, pp. xcvi, 794, \$2.75.) Compiled by Dr. John Gilbert Reid, this volume supplements for 1933 the two volumes "Japan: 1931-1941" published in 1943. Its four sections cover, respectively, "The Far Eastern Crisis," "China," "Japan," and "Siam." They contain much of interest and an appreciable amount of new material for the researcher. Japan's maneuvers to obtain control of Chinese territory between Peiping and the Great Wall, its efforts to secure American recognition of "Manchoukuo," early intimations of Japanese plans for war with the United States, Japanese efforts to increase their influence at Shanghai, Southwest China's suspicions of a Nanking bargain with Japan, American doubts that Nanking is holding firm, light on the assassination of Chang Tso-lin, issues of extraterritorial jurisdiction and rights in property in China, suggestions for a treaty of arbitration with Japan and revision of immigration restrictions—these are typical of the many valuable additions to our knowledge. While the documents do not require a reinterpretation of the period—excellent evidence of open diplomacy and conscientious metropolitan journalism—they assist importantly in the verification, correction, and completion of our data. This reviewer found especially useful the analyses of our minister to China, Nelson Johnson, and the presentation of American policy by Stanley Hornbeck, chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs. These two men, the former a profound student of China, the latter an acute analyst, a thorough scholar, and a formidable expositor, whether orally or in writing, represent American diplomacy of a high order. No senator or representative who reads these documents will be alarmed over the possible influence of subordinate officers. Hornbeck dealt austere but calmly with Debuchi, the Japanese ambassador, but was provoked to irony by George Bronson Rea. The scarcity of humor in *Foreign Relations* seems to justify reference to Rea's inquiry as to whether there would be objection to his using, in Washington, a brass doorplate inscribed "Manchoukuo Mission." Hornbeck replied

that "such a plate would be a 'brass plate' with emphasis on the 'brass.'" Scholars undoubtedly would value increased attention to the governments, parties, and political leaders of foreign states. Consistent identification of persons and places mentioned also would be helpful.

HAROLD S. QUIGLEY, *University of Minnesota*

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

DOMESTIC MANNERS OF THE AMERICANS. By Frances Trollope. Edited, with a History of Mrs. Trollope's Adventures in America, by Donald Smalley. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, pp. lxxxiii, 454, xix, \$5.00.) Our ancestors read Mrs. Trollope's famous book to writhe, to protest, and to mend their ways; we read it to laugh and to learn. This bustling, clever, shrill-voiced, voluble little Englishwoman had an

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

observant eye and a witty pen. From her earliest arrival in the West she took notes with a view to a book, and her harsh experiences in Cincinnati, where all the toil, worry, and money she put into her bazaar was lost, made that book more caustic than it would have been had she prospered. It is easy to point out her exaggerations. The fact remains, however, that her acidity was a valuable corrective to American boastfulness and self-complacency, and has given her picture of the vulgar, brutal, loutish side of the Jacksonian era permanent historical value. Nearly all that she wrote about the tobacco-chewing, the street-pigs, the whiskey-drinking, the hysterical revivals, the blatant spread-eagle political harangues, the prudishness, the lynchings, and the evil social effects of slavery had a substantial basis of truth; and she saw clearly enough that democracy sometimes meant an intolerant mob-opinion, and that enterprise very often meant a materialistic devotion to money-grubbing. Mr. Smalley, by performing three important services, has made this edition of Mrs. Trollope's book one which no student of American life in the era of J. Q. Adams and Andrew Jackson can neglect—and one which the general reader should prize. Discovering the three notebooks on which Mrs. Trollope partially based her work and the rough draft she first wrote, he arranged for their acquisition by the University of Indiana; and by using them he has shown just where and how she wrote from personal observation. Some notebook passages which she did not use are very entertaining. In the second place, he has ransacked newspapers, other travel books, and old letters or memoirs for material which corroborates or modifies many of Mrs. Trollope's observations, inserting this in footnotes. And finally, he has supplied a careful biographical introduction, which shows just how blunderingly heroic, how well-meant but ill-guided, and how studded with misadventures, was the career of this indefatigable, irrepressible little woman in the New World. In short, Mr. Smalley has given us a definitive edition of one of the most interesting and valuable of all works of American travel.

ALLAN NEVINS, *Columbia University*

JOEL MUNSELL: PRINTER AND ANTIQUARIAN. By David S. Edelstein, Chairman, Academic Department, Machine and Metal Trades High School, New York, N. Y. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Number 560.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1950, pp. 420, \$5.00.) Joel Munsell: 1808-1880. When, in 1889, Andrew F. West of Princeton prepared a new edition of *Philobiblon* for the Grolier Club, he stated: "The eleventh edition is an American one and was published in Albany in 1861. It is a rather common-looking octavo of over two-hundred and sixty pages. No editing, in any proper sense, has been attempted. The book is a piratical compilation made by Samuel Hand, reprinting the introduction translated from the French, mistakes and all, and a few worthless notes by Hand himself." Joel Munsell, the printer-publisher, had imprinted on the frontispiece: "Edition of 230 copies, 30 upon large paper." The book had the trappings of something special. Mr. Edelstein does not quote the distinguished Princeton scholar in the chapter of his book called "The Scholar Printer." Instead, in his reference to the *Philobiblon* (the name of the book does not appear in the index, except under "Samuel Hand") he mentions a Boston collector who praised it "to the skies." From today's measure of good bookmaking, Professor West lets the volume get off easily. Even in the standards of 1861, when Munsell printed the book at Albany, it could not compare well with the better productions of the period. It is not suggested that Munsell's biographer entirely overlooks his hero's poor workmanship. In referring to an early production, he writes: "The 'Minerva' (1828) suffered because of battered type and hurried composition and press work. The makeready was so poor that some pages were printed lighter than others, and there were variations within the page. Occasional lines were

not flush with the margin and, as time for reading proof was very short, there were errors in type setting that more careful proof-reading would have corrected." Although Munsell was hardly twenty-one, and was doing all the work, there are other examples of youthful one-man productions, even before his date, that show skill, care, and taste. And alas, even after fifty years of printing there is not one outstanding Munsell production to record. The main task of a biographer is to place his subject in proper relation to the period. A work based so largely on the family's favorable clippings and complimentary letters is not likely to be a balanced critical appraisal. Nor does a sampling from the bibliography listed in this volume help very much in the review of the book. As a test, the rereading of Helen M. Knubel's *Alexander Anderson: A Self Portrait* fails to explain its inclusion. And to substitute a first name of "David" for "Dard" Hunter is disillusioning copyreading for the Columbia University Press. The foreword, too, is the sort of text one sometimes finds used as a jacket's blurb and fortunately is seldom seen over the name of the dean of a college. The physical design and production of the volume are certainly not up to the better standards of today, but perhaps are adequate. One's greatest regret is that the Oxford University Press is to attempt to distribute this work abroad as an example of contemporary American bookmaking, or of scholarship.

ELMER ADLER, *Princeton, New Jersey*

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, 1903-1909: THE RECTORSHIP OF DENIS J. O'CONNELL. By *Colman J. Barry, O.S.B.*, St. John's Abbey. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1950, pp. xi, 298, \$3.50.) Denis J. O'Connell came to the Catholic University of America after an apprenticeship as rector of the North American College in Rome. He had also served for many years as agent of the American Catholic hierarchy at the Holy See. The colorful pattern of his early career in the church was continued in Washington. The young institution of which he became head in 1903 had already survived many financial and academic difficulties. Its prospects seemed good when O'Connell became rector, yet the greatest threat to its continued existence arose within a year after his installation. Previous inadequate financial supervision resulted in a loss of two thirds of the entire invested funds of the university. O'Connell restored financial solvency to the institution, revamped academic procedures and standards, and laid the foundations upon which his successor was to build a flourishing academic structure. The process of reconstruction, well detailed in this volume, was marked by sharp clashes between the forceful personality of O'Connell and the equally forceful personalities of some of his professors. Inclined to be an authoritarian, O'Connell and his methods of handling internal problems met with stiff resistance. In retrospect, his term of office proved valuable to the institution but difficult for its staff. The introduction of undergraduate instruction to the university, which had hitherto confined itself to advanced studies, was accomplished under O'Connell, although the development was not entirely to his liking. This volume is the third of a series dealing chronologically with the rectorship of the university. Like its companion volumes, this book contains significant information on new sources for the recent history of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. The problems of O'Connell's period of tenure were more exclusively university in character than were those faced by his predecessors, and involved to a lesser degree the general policies of the American Catholic Church. One notable exception concerned the development of the National Catholic Educational Association and the key role played in its foundation by the rector of the Catholic University. The book is informational rather than interpretive. It is nonetheless valuable because it gives access for the first time to materials hitherto unavail-

able. Footnotes, appendixes, sources, and index are impeccable in format and content. The proofreading leaves something to be desired.

JOHN J. MENG, *Hunter College*

WEST POINT: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY.

By *Sidney Forman*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1950, pp. vii, 255, \$3.75.) For those interested in institutional history, and especially that of West Point, Mr. Forman has produced a well-planned and instructive volume. As the author points out there has not been a history of the Military Academy in nearly fifty years, and those years have seen some profound changes at West Point. Despite the importance of the developments of the last half century, the early chapters of this book are by long odds the most interesting. The opening chapter on West Point's military importance and role in the Revolutionary War is more complete than most earlier studies. The second chapter covers events through the War of 1812 and contains a wealth of new material. Practically all the records of this period which were located at West Point were lost when the post headquarters building burned in 1838. Mr. Forman has done a fine piece of research amongst other records, notably those of the United States Military Philosophical Society. The result is an account of activities of sufficient moment to suggest a re-evaluation of West Point's importance both to the country and to education in its first ten years of existence. The prevailing impression is that it was not until Thayer's time (1817-1833) that the Military Academy came into its own as an educational institution. The influence of French military thought at West Point during Thayer's time is properly emphasized as is the academy's role as the forerunner of the great American civil engineering schools. Despite the number of West Pointers who were engaged in railway construction and other engineering projects and the number of West Point teachers who went on to help found other engineering schools, there was considerable popular criticism of the academy, especially in Jackson's time. The performance of graduates in the Mexican War, however, corrected that. Then came the turmoil of sectionalism with a considerable impact on the lives of cadets, coming as they did from all parts of the country. The author paints a picture of complacency and in some sense stagnation in the post-Civil War years, when West Point enjoyed the favor of her graduates like Grant and Sherman, now in high positions. He has also placed here interesting summaries of the decline of hazing and the development of the honor system. After the turn of the century, the Military Academy, like the rest of the army, went through an increasing tempo of change, starting with Root's reforms. Spanish-American War experience suggested that the demands of twentieth century warfare would be complex and would require much more elaborate training of professional soldiers. The changes in both military and academic instruction at West Point, especially after each of the world wars, reflect this trend. Mr. Forman's outline of developments since 1900 is based largely on secondary sources, but it is nonetheless useful and informative.

JOHN MASON KEMPER, *Phillips Academy*

WALTER LIPPMANN: A STUDY IN PERSONAL JOURNALISM. By *David*

Elliott Weingast. With an Introduction by *Harold L. Ickes*. (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1949, pp. xx, 155, \$3.00.) Historians of journalism and public opinion can be counted on to devote a nostalgic paragraph or chapter to the good old days when editors like Greeley, Dana, Bowles, and Medill were a power in the land. The more perceptive point out that their place is now taken by the columnist whose talents range from keyhole prowling and vindictive scurrility to informed and objective comment and interpretation of current affairs. Among the

latter Walter Lippmann is outstanding. He is syndicated to 140 leading newspapers in the United States, 9 in Canada, 17 in South America and other scattered journals from Greece to Australia. He is frequently quoted in Congress and reprinted in the *Record*. If one believes in the power of the printed word, this is it, and he who wields it carries a great responsibility. There is every evidence in this study that Lippmann is conscientiously aware of the responsibility he carries. Mr. Weingast has been equally conscientious and judicious in his study of Lippmann's life, the evolution of his thinking from college days to the present, the position he has taken, the predictions he has made, and the audience he reaches. There is a present interest in such a careful study and there is a future value in it for the historian. G.S.F.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- KING OF THE DELAWARES: TEEDYUSCUNG, 1700-1763. By Anthony F. C. Wallace. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949, pp. xiii, 305, \$3.50.) This is one of the most significant Indian biographies ever written. Prepared in simple narrative style, it is, nevertheless, a historical, psychological, and anthropological study of a Delaware Indian "who tried to bridge in one lifetime [ca. 1700-1763] the

cleft between two worlds—the white man's world and the Indian's world; and died an alien to both." The author has used the so-called "culture-and-personality" approach of the sociologist, but it reads like history, and it is history. This is true because Wallace is a trained and competent historian-anthropologist, and because Teedyuscung is unique among eighteenth century Indians for the wealth of printed and manuscript source material about him. Teedyuscung was a Delaware Indian basketmaker living in northern New Jersey. Originally a man of no distinction, he was one of those who chose to remain in the east while most of the Delawares went west to avoid assimilation with the whites. This is where the "split personality" factor comes in, and Wallace does a masterful job of demonstrating it from the documents without alienating the "common sense" historian who resents what he calls farfetched interpretations. For instance, the fraudulent Walking Purchase of 1737 and succeeding land grabs disgusted Teedyuscung, but led him to seek to emulate the whites rather than to fight them. Anthropologically this means that Teedyuscung represented the class of Indians who were "smart" enough to know that their way of life was doomed and that they must adopt white ways. Psychologically it means that the rather tranquil, easygoing Indian tried to adopt such white traits as aggressiveness, ingratiation, and punitiveness. To try was disastrous. Teedyuscung's life was a confusion of regard and hatred for the whites—a condition that made it impossible to be respected by either Indians or whites. For a brief period he was a baptized Christian Moravian Indian at the Gnadenhütten Mission in eastern Pennsylvania, but he was soon induced by secular Pennsylvania influences to migrate to Wyoming on the Susquehanna to block the incursions of Connecticut claimants to the land. This pleased him because it enabled him to embarrass one group of whites and receive the admiration of another. The same split shows in his vacillation between the French and the English as the border warfare broke out in 1754. Early French victories placed him in the position of being much sought after by the English who flattered him by calling him King of the Delawares—a position foreign to Delaware concepts. Struggling to relieve his people of their ancient subordination to the Iroquois, he became a ridiculous pawn in Pennsylvania politics as the tool of the Quaker faction which sought to embarrass the Proprietary faction by representing their engineering of the Walking Purchase as the cause of the Indian Wars. As a matter of fact, most Indians, including Teedyuscung, had resigned themselves to the Walking Purchase. Finally, on April 19, 1763, Teedyuscung, living quietly at Wyoming, was murdered by the Connecticut claimants, proving that the white men he loved could not protect him from the white men he hated. Wallace has done better than he claims. He has made the best study to date of a sector of the Indian problem which is gradually demanding separate and intensive treatment, namely, racial assimilation, and which extends from the days of Samoset and the early missionaries to the new Indian policy of John Collier and his associates. The history of Indian wars is only a part of the tale. The United States has its *Indios reducidos* as did the Spanish. To use Wallace's own words, it was Teedyuscung who was one of the first red men to discover that "civilizing" the Indian was inevitable, and that it should be a process "undergone peacefully, in security, on Indian land, in Indian communities, at the Indian's pace." That process is essentially the current Indian policy of the United States. Therefore, there will be more studies of this nature, eventually an "epic," and finally a "solution."

RANDOLPH C. DOWNES, *University of Toledo*

PENNSYLVANIA AGRICULTURE AND COUNTRY LIFE, 1640-1840. By *Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher*, Dean Emeritus, School of Agriculture, Pennsylvania State College. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950, pp. xiv,

605, cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.50.) The opening paragraph of the foreword to this study states, "During most of the two-century period covered in this survey Pennsylvania led the other colonies and states in the production of food. It was the 'bread basket of the nation.' Here was laid the foundation of much that is most significant in American agriculture. Farmers dominated the economic and political life of the province and state, partly because of their numerical preponderance. This was made possible not only by fertile soils and efficient farming but also by the substantial character of those who lived on the land." The study emphasizes throughout the determining influence of the fertile soil and favorable climate of this "Goodly Land" and the enterprise of the people who inhabited it, in shaping the economic and social progress of the period under consideration. The economic aspects of the study are suggested by such topics as land, soil fertility, pioneer farming, buildings and equipment, livestock, crops, horticulture, marketing, profit and loss, transportation, and the industries associated with agriculture. Farming is considered to be not only a means of livelihood but a mode of living as well. The social and cultural aspects of the study are suggested by such topics as nationality groups among Pennsylvania farmers, the farm home, food and clothing, family life, social customs in the home and community, the rural school and church, and farmers as citizens. The colorful and interesting narrative is enlivened and authenticated by the liberal use of well-chosen contemporary writings. While the study begins appropriately with the coming of Swedish farmers to Pennsylvania, it might well have been continued beyond the arbitrary dateline of 1840 to the time when science and industry began to transform the agricultural arts and country life in so many ways.

R. W. CORDIER, *State Teachers College, Indiana, Pennsylvania*

THE MUHLENBERGS OF PENNSYLVANIA. By *Paul A. W. Wallace*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950, pp. ix, 358, \$4.00.) By a natural sequence Dr. Wallace, whose important *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* was published in 1945, has chosen the Muhlenberg family of Pennsylvania as the subject of this new book. For Anna Maria, Conrad Weiser's daughter, was married, in 1745, to the Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. This young minister had then been less than three years in Pennsylvania, whither he had come from Germany in response to the appeal of some of the Lutheran congregations for a pastor. Highly educated, skilled in music, and possessed of a talent for organization, he became in time the patriarch of the Lutheran churches in America. Of the children born to the pastor and his wife three sons and four daughters survived childhood, married, and produced no less than twenty-nine grandchildren. All the three sons, on their return from study in Germany, entered the Lutheran ministry. Only the youngest, Gotthilf Henry Ernest, continued in that calling; and he attained greater eminence as one of the foremost of American botanists. John Peter Gabriel, the eldest son, gave up the church for service in the American army, becoming one of Washington's trusted generals. Frederick Augustus Conrad turned from preaching to politics, and is best remembered as the speaker of the House of Representatives in the first Congress under the Constitution. *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania*, while quite different from Dr. Wallace's *Conrad Weiser*, will have a place of its own. For it offers a fine example of a scholarly presentation for the "general reader," in which the public activities of these four distinguished men are effectively summarized, while the characteristics of each of the men—and the women—of this large family, in their relations with one another, are delineated with absorbing interest.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT, *Chevy Chase, Maryland*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

RUSTICS IN REBELLION: A YANKEE REPORTER ON THE ROAD TO RICHMOND, 1861-65. By *George Alfred Townsend*. With an Introduction by *Lida Mayo*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1950, pp. xx, 292, \$3.50.) Shortly after the Civil War, a young newspaper correspondent named George A. Townsend—subsequently to gain some reputation as GATH—published a shotgun volume of essays loosely entitled *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant*. These were based on five years of dispatches and articles, military and otherwise, published in the New York press during the war. Out of the trivial, the irrelevant, and the ephemeral, emerged a solid historical contribution in the form of eyewitness reports on the opening phases of the war and the military collapse of the Confederacy. Long out of print, the book is a collector's item, best known to Civil War scholars. The present volume is a reprint of the military chapters from the earlier one, and as such is a welcome addition to the readily available material on the war. By far the largest portion (243 of 282 pages) is devoted to the period May to August, 1862, with particular emphasis on the Seven Days, and, subsequently, Cedar Mountain. There are, however, vivid, first-hand excursions into such topics as camp fever, army morals, and field hospitals. After a trip abroad, Townsend resumes the military narrative with Five Forks in April, 1865, and closes with an account deliberately intended to "make vivid as the spectacle of death" the last throes of wartime Richmond. There is no attempt to deal with grand strategy. This is strictly the private's eye view of the war. There is much of the charm of Fremantle in Townsend's writing; there is also the brittle realism of Piatt. He is easily one of the best of the free-wheeling Civil War correspondents. For one of his youth he is surprisingly objective. He has an eye for significant detail and a flair for creating atmosphere. His vignettes, as of the loquacious embalmer, and his swift characterizations of such military personalities as R. B. Marcy and John Pope are peculiarly effective. The anecdote of Fitz John Porter under fire in a balloon over the Confederate lines is a minor classic. Although there is insufficient indication where cuts have been made in the original, the book is rather refreshing by virtue of under-editing rather than the reverse. Lida Mayo has provided a brief, incisive biographical sketch of the author as an introduction, and there is an index.

CHARLES R. WILSON, *Colgate University*

CONFEDERATE MUSIC. By *Richard B. Harwell*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1950, pp. viii, 184, \$3.50.) Although the broad title of this book is

misleading, within the narrow limits defined by the author in his preface he provides a stock of substantial information and a few significant generalizations. The volume "is confined strictly to music published within the bounds of the Confederacy," excluding areas at one time or another under control of the United States authorities; and since the author is interested primarily in the history of southern publishing, we read very little about the music itself. The Civil War stimulated musical composition and performance as a vehicle of southern nationalism and as an emotional expression of the soldier in camp and the civilian at home. Thus southern music publishing, which had previously suffered from northern competition, became so profitable that it grew more rapidly than the publishing business as a whole. The chief line of goods was sheet music. Mr. Harwell provides an interesting survey of these southern music publishers, located in a dozen towns and cities or forced to move from time to time on the approach of the enemy. Most of their extant imprints were published by A. E. Blackmar, J. C. Schreiner, the Werleins, and the George Dunn Company. A chapter is devoted to John Hill Hewitt, songwriter, publisher, dramatist, and historian, because he was "the embodiment of the South's struggle for literary independence." Then follow chapters on "Dixie," the national song of the South, and its rivals; other patriotic songs of the Confederacy and the separate states; pieces about the southern soldier; and the traffic in songs between North and South. These chapters are marred by successive paragraphs listing authors and titles under various categories with only an occasional readable passage on some particular song or writer. Much of this detail is presented in more usable form in the author's checklist of sheet music which is Part 2 of the book. While Mr. Harwell is aware that "the musical history of the South neither began nor ended with the Confederacy" and that it is a segment of American musical development in the nineteenth century, we catch only fleeting glimpses of the relation of the part to the whole. He also points out that the poetry of the Confederacy has been published in numerous anthologies, "but the music has been left mainly untouched and unknown in the hands of a small number of collectors and libraries." Unfortunately the *music* is still left untouched in this book, although the words of numerous songs are quoted. The five illustrations are photographic copies of sheet music covers, one of which happens to carry eight bars of music, but the book provides no other opportunity to "try this over on your piano." Mr. Harwell has eased the way for an interpretive study of music in the Confederacy.

LESTER J. CAPPON, *Institute of Early American History and Culture*

WADE HAMPTON AND THE NEGRO: THE ROAD NOT TAKEN. By *Hampton M. Jarrell*. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1949, pp. xi, 209, \$3.50.) This study is broader than the title implies, for it is an account of the political aspects of Reconstruction in South Carolina. Although it is based largely on secondary works, the author has used his sources intelligently. The central theme is the clash in South Carolina between the followers of Wade Hampton, who placed confidence in the Negro, and the partisans of Martin Gary, who wished to exclude the Negro utterly from politics. There is too much hero worship of Wade Hampton in this volume, yet this favorable picture of one of the Bourbons is perhaps nearer the truth than the wholesale condemnation of them by some recent writers. The author maintains rightly that Wade Hampton's liberalism toward the Negro was greater than that of his followers, who accepted his partnership with colored voters largely because of Hampton's dominating personality. This slender volume makes a contribution in showing how the recovery of home rule in the election of 1876 became the subject of partisan legends. Martin Gary, followed later by Tillman, distorted the facts by asserting that the whites won this critical election through violence and the display

of force. Hampton maintained, on the other hand, that he won it because 17,000 Negroes broke from the Republican party and voted for him. The author brings forward considerable evidence to prove that the campaign was "amazingly peaceful" and that a large number of the better element of the Negroes supported Hampton. Mr. Járrell's study is distinctly "pro-South," with a decided defensive tone, yet it should be welcomed by American historians for its assembly of material on an important phase of southern liberalism. This early postwar movement for co-operation between whites and Negroes was frustrated partly because of northern mistakes in Reconstruction and partly because of the overthrow of the Bourbons by the rise of the common white man to political power.

CLEMENT EATON, *University of Kentucky*

PILLARS OF MARYLAND. By *Francis Sims McGrath*. (Richmond, Dietz Press, 1950, pp. xx, 580, \$5.00.) This impressive volume is gracefully dedicated by the author to his mother, Elizabeth Bordley Belt McGrath. Mrs. McGrath (1842-1924), whose portrait appears as the last of the many illustrations that adorn the book, was a lineal descendant of several of the men prominent in the life, political and social, of the province of Maryland. Around these ancestors and their offspring of succeeding generations Mr. McGrath, depending chiefly upon secondary materials, has constructed an interesting book. While the titles of some of the chapters refer to general topics such as "The Rise and Fall of Religious Liberty in Maryland," the narrative is predominantly biographical, and even within this field Mr. McGrath's approach is highly selective. Forestalling criticism, he makes it clear that his wish is to hand down to his descendants the story, not of all their ancestors, but of those whom he judges to have been "deserving." "Many excellent ancestors," Mr. McGrath declares, "will find a place in heaven who are not admitted to this book." Despite this, however, Mr. McGrath ranges far afield, both beyond his ancestors and beyond Maryland. With a style lively and essentially subjective, Mr. McGrath gives expression to a whimsical pessimism as to the present world in which he has to live, and to an atavistic nostalgia for the days of his progenitors. Besides the illustrations, the fine paper and the large type embellish the book; but the proofreading is far from impeccable. One finds a helpful general index and an index of proper names. There is also a bibliography which fills several pages, but this is of very uneven quality. Hardly to be recognized under the title "Armisted, Peter, *Portraits of Old Georgetown*" is the well-known and useful work of Grace Dunlop Ecker (now Mrs. Walter G. Peter), *A Portrait of Old George town*.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT, *Chevy Chase, Maryland*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XVII, THE TERRITORY OF ILLINOIS, 1814-1818 (Continued). Compiled and Edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. [Publication No. 3620.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1950, pp. v, 750, \$4.00.) The publication of this second and final volume of the territorial papers of Illinois is of major interest to students of Illinois history. Many of the documents, however, pertain to problems within portions of the present states of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota, then included in the Illinois territory. With the exception of the Executive Register for the Illinois Territory, 1809-1818, here republished from the Illinois State Archives, Springfield, the selections are from the archives of the federal government in the National Archives and relate to the second and third administrations of Governor Ninian Edwards, 1814-1818. In the correspondence between Governor Edwards and other territorial officials, and with the secretaries of war and other federal officials, is to be seen evidence of the chaotic frontier conditions in the years following the close of the War of 1812. Memorials, petitions, and letters addressed to officials and agents by groups of settlers and individuals rushing into the territory demand the survey and opening of public lands and adequate military protection from the incursions of Indian tribes still under the leadership of British traders. A letter from Governor Edwards to delegate Benjamin Stephenson in Congress is illustrative of another phase of the Indian problem. "The situation of the Kaskaskia Indians is so truly distressing and the conduct of Government towards them both so impolitic and unjust that I cannot forbear to request that as you know their situation you will mention it to the Secretary of War, whoever he may be. I wrote to Mr. Armstrong several times upon the subject, but could never obtain a single line of instructions from him. For two years the Kaskaskias have failed to receive the \$1000 annuity agreed upon for the cession of the Saline. They are literally naked. Unless something shall be done for them shortly, I have no hesitation in believing that they will be compelled to join the hostile confederacy that surrounds us." Other selections pertain to the location of strategic trade centers such as Chicago, to military bounty lands, removal of trespassers, lease of lead-mines and salt-springs. With the spread of settlement came the organization of new counties, founding of new towns, opening of roads, establishment of postal routes and transition from the territorial status to admission into the Union, December 3, 1818. Dr. Carter is to be congratulated upon the excellence of the editorial work. It is to be noted that on May 24, 1950, the project of editing and publishing the Territorial Papers of the United States was transferred from the Department of State to the National Archives and Records Service and that the office of the editor is now in the National Archives building.

JAMES ALTON JAMES, *Evanston, Illinois*

RUBBER'S HOME TOWN: THE REAL-LIFE STORY OF AKRON. By *Hugh Allen*.

With a Foreword by *Lloyd C. Douglas*. (New York, Stratford House, 1949, pp. xxii, 265, \$3.75.) This is far from being a comprehensive and penetrating history of the rubber processing and marketing industry in America or even in its "home town." But it is a brightly written story by the one-time editor of the *Akron Beacon Journal*, who subsequently spent many years in the service of the Goodyear company. Mr. Allen's book is not devoted solely to rubber. Rather, it is a popular biography of a town with emphasis on the difficulties faced by the builders of the community, the early settlers, and the growing company of industrial leaders and the commodities they dealt with. Here one may learn something of Ferdinand Schumacher, manufacturer of oatmeal, and his important contribution to the evolution of the Quaker Oats Company; of Ohio C. Barber, who became the "match king" of the New World; of the manufacturers of farm machinery, pottery, chemicals, adhesives, soap, and other items. According to the minister-novelist, Lloyd C. Douglas, who wrote a preface to this work, Mr. Allen "knows his Akron up one side and down the other . . . [and] has been through it with a lantern and a ladder." Rubber, of course, has been Akron's chief concern and is accorded more than half the total treatment in Allen's book. The commodity and the community were brought together with the arrival of Dr. Benjamin Franklin Goodrich in 1870, who found himself more interested in manufacturing ventures than in the practice of medicine. When he told a group of early Akron businessmen that he planned to replace leaky leather fire hose with rubber tubing, interest was aroused and capital forthcoming. Others eventually moved into the business: Seiberling, Dunlop, Litchfield, O'Neil, Kelly Springfield, Firestone, and many more. Their energy and skill made Akron beyond serious challenge the rubber-processing capital of the country and the world. The book is enlivened with illustrations, has a useful collection of biographical sketches, a helpful chronology of Akron events, and only a fair index. The bibliography is brief and entirely secondary.

HARRISON JOHN THORNTON, *State University of Iowa*

RAINY RIVER COUNTRY: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE REGION BORDERING MINNESOTA AND ONTARIO. By *Grace Lee Nute*. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1950, pp. xiii, 143, \$2.00.)

The reader who is at all acquainted with the work of Dr. Nute soon recognizes this skillfully written little volume as a continuation of her earlier works, such as *The Voyageur* and *The Voyageur's Highway*. Quoting a Hudson's Bay Company trader as referring in 1793 to the Rainy River as "one of the Beautifullest rivers I ever saw in the country," Dr. Nute sketches with swift strokes the long line of forest Sioux and Chippewa, fur traders and explorers, military men and missionaries, boundary officials and settlers, who lived or passed along the route connecting Rainy Lake with the Lake of the Woods. Only careful study of source material would enable a writer to include the interesting details so adroitly mentioned. When the more recent period is reached, the story is continued with equal dexterity until the principal interest appears to settle in the lumbering, railroad, and manufacturing activities of an international paper concern which does much to change the industries of the region. However, as tourists, hunters, and fishermen are still "an important part of borderland economy," they in particular should enjoy the volume. Serious minded historians may find in it another proof of the fact that readability and scholarship are not incompatible.

MARGARETH JORGENSEN, *National Archives*

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham¹

GENERAL

ECONOMIA DE LA SOCIEDAD COLONIAL: ENSAYO DE HISTORIA COMPARADA DE AMERICA LATINA. By *Sergio Bagú*. (Buenos Aires, El Ateneo, 1949, pp. 300.) This volume contains ten essays on the colonial epoch in the Americas, "viewed from the comparative angle." As one would expect, an essay is devoted to the economy of the American Indians and another to economic conditions in Europe during the early modern period. The remaining eight deal mainly with the Spanish colonies and Brazil, with some allusions to the English and French colonies for purposes of comparison or contrast. The specialist who reads these essays will not be startled by many new facts but he will be stimulated by new viewpoints and interpretations, which he may or may not be willing to accept. The author is a young Argentine scholar with apparent leanings toward socialism and the conviction that many of the Latin-American countries are still economically colonial areas which continue to produce mainly for the foreign market and have their major economic activities determined by forces outside their boundaries. Carefully organized and giving somewhat more attention to theory than to the accumulation of facts, the essays might well become assigned reading in college courses surveying the colonial period either of the United States or Latin America. The bibliography reveals the author's familiarity with the important general works and monographs as well as a number of the documentary sources in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. Dr. Bagú promises further essays on the subject, and they should be welcomed by all students interested in this broad field. J. FRED RIPPY, *University of Chicago*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1933. In five volumes. Volume IV, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 3818.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1950, pp. lxxxiv, 812, \$3.00.) This volume, compiled by Mr. Victor J. Farrar and Miss Matilda F. Axton, is one of two, in the total of five devoted to the foreign relations of the United States for the year 1933, which deal with Western Hemisphere affairs. In contrast with its companion volume, which is limited to bilateral relations, it is, with

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

the exception of a section on economic issues between the United States and Argentina, concerned exclusively with problems which were met by multilateral action. The efforts of the United States to restore peace and to maintain friendly intercourse among the nations of the hemisphere provide a discernible unifying theme for the collection. Slightly less than the first third of the volume is devoted to documents relating to the Seventh International Conference of American States at Montevideo—the preliminaries to the congress, the instructions to United States delegates, communications bearing on the proceedings, and the conventions signed by the United States—and to the related matter of adherence by the United States to the Anti-War Treaty signed at Rio de Janeiro, October 10, 1933. Extensive documentation is also provided on the Chaco dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay and the Leticia dispute between Colombia and Peru. The section devoted to United States-Argentine economic questions includes the preliminary discussions in the negotiations which culminated in the signature of the trade agreement of October 14, 1941, and agreements and representations between the two countries on six other categories of commercial and financial problems. Other topics documented in smaller compass are the boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru; agreements on the interpretation of Article IV of the Havana Convention on Commercial Aviation of February 20, 1928, between the United States and eight republics of the Caribbean area; and the North and Central American Regional Radio Conference in Mexico. The inclusion in this volume of the three conventions and the additional protocol signed by the United States at Montevideo is understandable, although the complete lists of conventions adopted by the conference, which have already been published, are duplicated to that degree.

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SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

THE EPIC OF THE CHACO: MARSHAL ESTIGARRIBIA'S MEMOIRS OF THE CHACO WAR, 1932-1935. Edited and Annotated by *Pablo Max Ynsfran*. [University of Texas, Institute of Latin-American Studies, Latin-American Studies, VIII.] (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1950, pp. xiv, 221, \$2.25.) To the student of Latin-American military history this brief study of the war between Paraguay and Bolivia ought to prove an invaluable aid, although its very brevity might well be considered a major fault. One can hardly expect an adequate treatment of three years of warring to be contained in somewhat more than two hundred pages. Marshal Estigarribia, of course, did not claim these recollections to constitute a complete history; his death unfortunately prevented a more detailed work, so badly needed. Yet, because of the freshness of his writing, as much of the story as the marshal tells is told well. The clash of armies in battle is made real and living. On the other hand, if the book is to be considered in a purely historical sense, it will be well to remember that the treatment of the subject is not historical. Time and again all pretense to objectivity is lost as the patriotism of both author and editor enters into the reporting of events. But this is only natural; one side of the struggle, the Paraguayan, is being told here. The Bolivian interpretation must also be written in equally fervent tones. The value of the book is not seriously diminished, however, because of briefness and subjectiveness in matters political. The reader is allowed a first-hand view, interestingly drawn, quite thoroughly documented, of a brilliant commander leading his forces against admittedly great odds. And the lack of objectivity in those political matters offers the opportunity for sympathetic reaction with a sorely tried government as it seeks the solutions to its problems with the League of Nations, with finance, with material of war. Sometimes, it may be admitted, these intimate and personal glances at history in the making result in deeper understanding of what has happened than would dispassionate and objective criticism. Marshal Estigarribia's memoirs, as ably presented by Señor Ynsfran, assist the careful student in this direction. By no means is the complete story here, but certainly a goodly portion of it is reasonably told.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The attention of the members is called to the fact that the committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund will finance the publication of books of mature scholarship which make a distinct contribution to knowledge in any field of history. Ordinarily doctoral dissertations or works of more than one volume will not be considered. Manuscripts must be submitted to the chairman, Professor Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, before April 1, 1951.

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has acquired some 200 papers of James Monroe, fifth President of the United States. These manuscripts, which were among those retained by the family when the main body of Monroe papers was purchased by the government in 1849, contain a few drafts of letters and documents in Monroe's own hand, but they consist for the most part of letters addressed to him from 1783 to 1831, the year of his death. Fifteen letters from his uncle, Joseph Jones, member of the Virginia legislature and long-time judge of the Virginia General Court, contain valuable information about Virginia politics and proceedings in the legislature from 1783 to 1794. A later series, written by Monroe's son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, from 1822 to 1829, tell of family matters and also deal with the political situation in New York. Other papers of special interest include letters from the Marquis de Lafayette during his visit to America in 1824-25, and letters from Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay.

The main body of Carl Schurz Papers in the Library of Congress has been supplemented and considerably enlarged by a group of several thousand Schurz papers and related items presented by Mr. George McAneny, president of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation. The group includes drafts and copies of a number of speeches delivered by Schurz, notes on Civil Service reform and financial subjects, and more than 500 letters, in German, received from members of his family and from friends during the last half of the nineteenth century.

The papers of the late Roland S. Morris, prominent lawyer and ambassador to Japan during Woodrow Wilson's second administration, have been presented to the Library of Congress by his son, Edward Shippen Morris, and his daughter, Mrs. William F. Machold. Most of the papers, which number about 5000, were created during the years of Mr. Morris' service in Japan, 1917-21, and in the course of his special missions to Siberia in 1918 and 1919. Files of correspondence for this period are supplemented by memorandums, reports, cablegrams exchanged with the Department of State, and notes for speeches Mr. Morris delivered in Japan and after his return to the United States. A smaller group of papers pertains to his work as professor of international law at the University of Pennsylvania from 1924 to 1943.

Recent accessions of the Princeton University library include approximately 5,000 manuscripts of Lindley Miller Garrison, Secretary of War, 1912-16, mostly letters addressed to him during these years.

Under a grant from the University Research Board of the University of Illinois, Professor Arthur E. Bestor, jr., has arranged and classified the manuscripts preserved in the Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. The collection includes over 1,650 letters before 1870, a large number of miscellaneous personal papers, and approximately 200 bound volumes of manuscript records and accounts. These comprise valuable historical sources on the New Harmony Community (1825-27), on the activities of Robert Owen in America, on the educational and scientific work of William Maclure and his associates, on various nineteenth century organizations and business firms at New Harmony, and on the history of the town and region generally. The most important parts of the collection are being microfilmed for the Illinois Historical Survey of the University of Illinois, which will also issue in mimeographed form the catalogue which is being prepared of the collection.

The *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* has resumed publication, under the editorship of Professors Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen of Heidelberg and Ernst Wolf of Göttingen. Subscriptions (\$3.00) may be made through any American bookstore or sent directly to the publisher, W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Urbanstrasse 12, Stuttgart, Germany.

The first number of *Historia*, a new international quarterly for ancient history, appeared in July of this year. It is published in Germany by the Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft in Baden-Baden, under the editorship of Professor Gerold Walser of Freiburg and Professor Karl Stroheker of Tübingen, and with the assistance of an international editorial committee composed of representatives from England (Adcock and Ehrenberg), France (Piganiol and J. Ernst), Germany (Vogt), Switzerland (Alföldi), Italy (Ferrabino), and the United States (Broughton). It will contain articles, reviews, notes, and bibliographical lists covering the whole field of ancient history from early times in the Ancient Near East until the fall of the Roman Empire. English, French, German, and Italian are the languages of publication. The editors and the editorial committee wish to emphasize the international character of the new journal, and earnestly desire contributions from scholars in all countries.

Under the sponsorship of the University of Glasgow, *Soviet Studies*, a quarterly review of the social and economic institutions of the USSR, has completed its first year. The journal ranges over the whole area of the social studies, education, law and science, as they are represented in contemporary Russian publications. Several leading American scholars have contributed to this first volume. The publisher is Basil Blackwell, Oxford. The price is \$3.50 per year.

The Southern Historical Association held its sixteenth annual meeting in Atlanta, November 9-11, at the invitation of Emory University, Agnes Scott College, Georgia Institute of Technology, and the Atlanta Historical Society. The major part of the program was concerned with Southern history, but there were sessions also on medieval and Russian history and a discussion on undergraduate history programs.

The historical agencies of the Virginia state government have been consolidated in a new history division in the Virginia State Library. The division will carry on a broad program of research and writing in Virginia history and take over the remaining tasks of complementing the traditional service of the former division of history and archaeology of the Virginia Department of Conservation and Development and the former World War II history division of the state library, both of which have been discontinued. Headed by W. Edwin Hemphill, the staff of the new history division includes Elizabeth Dabney Coleman, James R. V. Daniel, William M. E. Rachal, and Hilda Noel Schroetter.

As an expression of the general admiration in Australia for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the government of the Commonwealth in 1945 instituted a memorial library of American literature, history, and institutions. It will be supplemented by fellowships to assist Australian students to do research in it. The library will be housed in a special wing of the Commonwealth National Library in Canberra. It is recognized that building up the collection will be a slow process, but a good beginning has been made by gifts and exchange. Co-operation and support in America on a broad basis will be welcomed. A large private library that could be purchased en bloc is one measure the Commonwealth government would take if the opportunity were offered. Anyone desiring to co-operate or seeking further information should address Mr. H. L. White, Commonwealth National Librarian, Canberra, Australia.

M. Fernand Aubert of the Musée de la Reformation is on the point of bringing out a critical edition of the correspondence of Théodore de Bèze. Before going to press he would like to make sure that nothing yet remains in the libraries of the United States, and he would, therefore, be very grateful for news of any letter to or from de Bèze. The information may be sent directly to him in care of the Musée at Geneva or by way of Roland H. Bainton, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven, Conn.

Cornell University has announced the receipt of a gift from Mrs. John L. Senior of Lenox, Massachusetts, and her children to create "what is believed to be the first professorship in 'American values' in a college or university." Although the precise title of the professorship has not been decided, the announcement said, "It is intended to become a pioneering effort in research, teaching, and writing which will lead to a greater understanding of the heritages, traditions and freedoms of American society."

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that it is pre-

pared to provide a limited number of grants-in-aid of research to individual writers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American history prior to the year 1815. These grants are made in conjunction with the publication program of the institute, and upon the condition that the recipients shall submit the completed product of their researches to the institute for consideration for publication. Ordinarily grants will not exceed \$1,000. Grants will not be made to facilitate the completion of work for academic degrees. Early application for the grants will be advantageous; candidates must file their applications not later than March 15, 1951. Announcement of awards will be made May 15, 1951. Requests for application form and other information should be addressed to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Among the American recipients of awards under the Fulbright Act for the year 1950-51 are the following scholars in history and related fields: Ralph H. Bowen, Columbia University, to conduct research in French history at the University of Paris; Jack H. Hexter, Queens College, to conduct research in European history at the University of Paris; George E. Mowry, State University of Iowa, to lecture in American history at the University of Strasbourg and the University of Rennes (one semester each); Boyd C. Shafer, University of Arkansas, to conduct research in French history at the University of Paris; Peter W. Topping, University of California, Santa Barbara, to conduct research in European history at the American School of Classical Studies, Athens; Elizabeth Cometti, Marshall College, West Virginia, to lecture in American history at the University of Rome; Robert L. Reynolds, University of Wisconsin, to photomicrofilm Genoese archival material; Whitney Trow Perkins, University of Denver, to conduct research in international relations at the University of Amsterdam; Alfred P. Fernbach, University of Virginia, to conduct research in international relations at the University of Oslo; Louis Filler, Antioch College, to lecture in American history and civilization at the University of Bristol; Paul H. Hardacre, Vanderbilt University, to conduct research in English history at the University of London; Margaret Hastings, New Jersey College for Women, to conduct research in English history at the University College in London; Clinton N. Howard, University of California at Los Angeles, to lecture in American history at the University of Nottingham; William Hardy McNeill, University of Chicago, to conduct research in international relations at the University of London; Wendell Holmes Stephenson, Tulane University, to lecture in American history at the University of Birmingham; Charles S. Sydnor, Duke University, to lecture in English and American history at Oxford University.

It is a pleasure to call the attention of all scholars who write reviews in any field to Dr. George Sarton's article, "Notes on the Reviewing of Learned Books" in *Isis* (July, 1950, Vol. 41, pp. 149-58). It is quite the best distillation of good sense and experience yet to appear in print on the subject.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

A. T. Volwiler of Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, has been elected a fellow of the Royal Historical Society, London.

Cornelis Willem de Kiewiet of Cornell University has been elected president of the University of Rochester. He has been acting president of Cornell University since the resignation of President E. E. Day. At Rochester he succeeds Dr. Alan Valentine.

Joseph E. Johnson, professor of history at Williams College and former State Department officer and adviser to United Nations delegations, has been elected president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Professor Johnson will succeed Dr. James T. Shotwell on July 1, Dr. Shotwell becoming president emeritus thereafter.

Roy F. Nichols, professor of history in the University of Pennsylvania, has been re-elected chairman of the Social Science Research Council.

Thomas A. Bailey, professor of history in Stanford University, gave the Messenger Lectures at Cornell University on Russian-American historical relations, October 9 to 19.

O. J. Hale is on leave of absence from the University of Virginia for the current academic year to serve as deputy United States land commissioner for Bavaria on the staff of the United States high commissioner for Germany.

John H. Kennedy, formerly of the department of history at Yale University, is now with the Department of the Air Force in Washington, D. C.

R. Stanley McCordock has been promoted to the rank of professor at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio.

Robert F. Campbell has been promoted to associate professor of American history at Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky will serve as visiting professor of history in the 1951 summer session of Columbia University.

Joseph B. Kyle has joined the staff of the department of history at Duke University for 1950-51 as a part-time instructor.

The department of history of the University of Georgia, Atlanta Division, announces the appointment of Gaines W. Walter as associate professor and Kenneth Coleman as instructor.

John Long, formerly of Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio, has accepted appointment in the history department of Gila Junior College, Thatcher, Arizona.

Edward F. Burrows, assistant professor of history at Guilford College, has been granted a year's leave of absence to complete the work on his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin. Elvin Strowd has been appointed assistant professor of history in Guilford College for the year 1950-51.

Jack J. Detzler has been promoted to assistant professor of history and made director of the South Bend-Mishawaka Center of Indiana University. The university has nine such centers, and their general direction has been committed to Donald F. Carmony, associate professor of history.

A. Stanley Trickett has been elected president of Kansas Wesleyan University.

William D. Hoyt, jr., and Harry W. Kirwin have been promoted to associate professors of history in Loyola College, Baltimore.

The department of history in the University of Michigan announces the promotion of William B. Willcox to the rank of professor and Gerald S. Brown to the rank of assistant professor. Dwight L. Dumond was granted sabbatical leave for the first semester of 1950-51, and Palmer A. Throop, Benjamin W. Wheeler, and Dwight C. Long for the second semester. Acting jointly with the government of the Netherlands, the University of Michigan has established the position of visiting professor from the Netherlands. The holder of this chair for the current year is Dr. Th. J. G. Locher, professor of history in the University of Leiden.

Edward T. James has been appointed assistant professor and Janet Wilson James as instructor in the department of history and government at Mills College, Oakland, California.

Harold A. Bierck, jr., assistant professor of Latin-American history at the University of North Carolina, has been granted a fellowship award by the Rockefeller Foundation for a year's research and study in South America. He plans to spend most of his time in Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Richard K. Murdoch of the department of history, Carnegie Institute of Technology, replaces Dr. Bierck during the current academic year. W. C. Jackson, formerly chancellor of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has joined the staff of the history department at Woman's College. Dewey W. Grantham, jr., has been appointed

assistant professor of history, and Lawrence L. Graves has been appointed instructor in history at Woman's College.

Aida Raquel Caro Costas has been promoted from instructor of history to auxiliary professor of history in the University of Puerto Rico. She has been granted a special leave of absence to act as director of the Inter-American Office of the government of the city capital of Puerto Rico.

Robert Lacour-Gayet has been named chairman of the department of history and government at St. John's College, Brooklyn, New York.

Rev. Herbert J. Clancy, S.J., has joined the staff of St. Peter's College, Jersey City.

George A. Frykman, formerly of Stanford University, is now instructor in history and political science in the State College of Washington.

RECENT DEATHS

Grace Gardner Griffin died November 4 after a long illness. She had resigned her position as special assistant in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress early in 1950, where she had had charge of the great collection of manuscripts dealing with American history and reproduced from foreign archives and other libraries. Many scholars will remember her for her services given generously to those who used this great body of material. To most scholars here and abroad, certainly those in the field of American history, she will always be the Miss Griffin of the annual volumes, *Writings on American History*, one of the most extensive bibliographical enterprises in any field, and carried on year after year in over-time hours. She began in the years when Dr. Jameson was arbiter of form and substance in the publications of the Association. Her father, A. P. C. Griffin, was an outstanding bibliographer. She had the training and the conscience and the patience that made her also a great bibliographer. In addition to the *Writings* she collaborated with Samuel F. Bemis in the preparation of *The Guide to American Diplomatic History, 1775-1921*. When she left the Library, her associates expressed their appreciation in appropriate gifts and she lived to read the tributes in the name of the Association in the April, 1950, issue of this journal.

James Fosdick Baldwin, professor emeritus of history at Vassar College, died on October 5 in Poughkeepsie, where he had lived since his retirement in 1941. He was born in Chelsea, Massachusetts, in 1871; hence his life spanned the stormy years of contemporary history—if we take the Franco-Prussian War and Lenin's birth as "the hinge of fate." Yet he died after a long career that might be called Victorian in its continuity, outward placidity, and devotion to political history. His forty-four years of teaching after he received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago

in 1897 were all spent at Vassar, where he moved up to associate professor in 1902 and full professor in 1907. He served for many years as chairman of the department of history. Denison University in 1935 honored the undeviating career of its graduate by conferring on him an L.H.D.—fitting reward for one to whom history was the core of a liberal education.

His work was recognized abroad for his contributions in the field of English medieval history. *The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages*, published at Oxford in 1913, gained him a secure position as an outstanding scholar in his field, and election to the Royal Historical Society. A pathbreaking book in its time, it still remains a recognized authority. His *Select Cases before the King's Council*, published by the Selden Society in 1918, continued this solid achievement.

His increasing interest in local history and his long service as vice president of the Dutchess County Historical Society was honored in 1942 by his appointment as Dutchess County Historian. His years in retirement were also engaged in writing a history of Vassar College during the administration of President Henry Noble MacCracken, in which task he brought the same assiduity and training to bear on the college archives as he had on the royal archives years before, and the same dry wit his colleagues and friends remember so well.

Stephen Duggan, founder (1919) and director emeritus of the Institute of International Education, died on August 18 at the age of seventy-nine. Dr. Duggan earned his doctorate at Columbia in 1902 and was throughout the years the recipient of numerous honorary degrees. From 1896 until 1927 he was a member of the department of political science in the College of the City of New York. Among his published works are *The Eastern Question* (1902), *A History of Education* (1916), *The Two Americas* (1933), *A Professor at Large* (1943), and *The Rescue of Science and Learning* (1948). He was for some years a member of this Association. His scholarship and executive ability was supplemented by a gracious personality that made him an ideal representative of American cultural interests.

C. D. Johns, chairman of the department of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, died on August 9 in Baltimore. Dr. Johns had been connected with the college for a number of years and had been chairman since the retirement of Dr. B. B. Kendrick.

The Reverend Amos Arnold Hovey, chairman of the department of history in Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, died on August 19 at the age of sixty-seven. Dr. Hovey had served as professor of history (1919–21), Fargo College; assistant professor of history (1921–22), Kalamazoo College; and since 1926 had been in the history department of Bates College. He was a member of this Association.

Word has come of the death during the first week of October of the distinguished French historian, Louis Halphen, at the age of seventy. From a professorship at the

University of Bordeaux he was called to the Sorbonne (Ecole des Hautes Etudes) in 1923. His many volumes and articles in the field of French early and late medieval history brought him recognition throughout the scholarly world. He was a contributor to the *Cambridge Medieval History* and editor of the many volumed *Peuples et civilisations* and the *Revue historique* (1902-40). His later publications dealt with the history of France in the last century and with historical method.

Word has just come, as this issue goes to press, of the sudden death on December 9 of Robert B. Brown, curator of printed books at the William L. Clements Library in the University of Michigan.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. C. M. Destler's article, "Some Observations on Contemporary Historical Theory" (*American Historical Review*, LV [April, 1950], 504-29), contains basic misinterpretations of the work of a number of contemporary historians and philosophers, among them Carl L. Becker, Charles A. Beard, and John Dewey. Historians who are closely acquainted with the work of Becker and Beard will recognize such misinterpretations where they appear in Mr. Destler's article. They will also recognize the errors of interpretation in Mr. Destler's references to the report of the Committee on Historiography. In the case of John Dewey, however, Mr. Destler has so distorted the philosophy that it is beyond recognition, either by its author or by any informed philosopher. Whether or not historians agree to accept Mr. Dewey's philosophy of history is a matter for each historian to decide. But it is of first importance that Dewey's philosophy be presented to historians as he conceived it, and not in a garbled form. What follows is an attempt to correct the misinterpretation contained in Mr. Destler's article.

The central point of John Dewey's philosophy of history is quite simple: historical fact gains its meaning from the way it is used by historians. It has no meaning until it is placed in a system of facts under the general direction of controlling hypotheses. This is what is usually meant when historians or philosophers refer to the past as extending into the present; it does not mean that John Dewey's philosophical position is that of "a leading champion of the presentist-subjectivist-relativist position" (p. 509). It is not easy to discover any philosopher or historian who subscribes to the notion attributed to Dewey by Mr. Destler that history is simply the subjective whimsy of those who take their ideas of the past from their own present.

Dewey is not a subjectivist. Some of his most severe critical writing in the field of epistemology has been devoted to exposing what he considers to be the fallacies in the subjectivist position. In fact, the reference made by Mr. Destler to A. O. Lovejoy's theory of history can serve to illustrate how completely Dewey's view has been misrepresented. Lovejoy's theory of history depends upon a dualistic epistemology in which an external reality is represented in subjective mental states. Dewey's theory substitutes for these mental states, processes or "ideas" which are psychical data, capable of being observed, since they exist spatially and temporally. They are not the sole property of a subject, nor do they "represent" objects. Among other important contributions which Dewey has made to contemporary philosophy

is his view that mental states are not subjective, but are themselves historical events.

The concept of "presentism" as it is described in Mr. Destler's article has no counterpart among serious philosophers, nor would a careful study of Croce's work reveal that Mr. Destler's caricature of his philosophy represents what Croce was trying to say. In any case, Croce's view of history cannot be used to condemn John Dewey's. Nor can the designation of Dewey as a "presentist" be given any precise referent. Dewey takes for granted, as do most philosophers, that historians are concerned with a continuous course of events. As in the case of his epistemology, Dewey's logic rests upon a conception of reality as a continuum. His view of history therefore conceives the present as continuous with, but of course not identical with, the past. The point is made by Dewey in his discussion of narration and description (*Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, pp. 226-28). Judgments, either about a personal past or a historical past, "like those about all existential matters, have probability not 'certainty'" (p. 226). "... provisional judgments (of the nature of appraisals or estimates) have to be made about both present objects or events and past occurrences. Such judgments are not final and complete. They are the *means* by which conclusive and complete judgment about an entire course of sequential events, a history, extending from the past through the present into the future, is groundedly instituted. It is for the sake of resolving a total qualitative situation that the provisional judgments about past and present events—in the temporal sense of past and present—are made. When it is said that judgments of recollection are not complete in themselves but are instrumental means of requalifying a *present* situation, otherwise problematic, the word 'present' does not mean a temporal event that may be contrasted with some other event as past. The situation that I am determining when I attempt to decide whether or not I mailed a certain letter is a 'present' situation. But the present situation is not located in and confined to an event here and now occurring. It is an extensive duration, covering past, present and future events" (p. 228). Even if Mr. Destler's "presentism" could be considered seriously as a philosophical category, it would bear only a superficial relation to Dewey's conception as described in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of his *Logic*.

Nor would Dewey be able to recognize or to endorse the relativist position ascribed to him by Mr. Destler. The concept of relativism throughout the Destler article is used as a condemnation, rather than a description, of Mr. Dewey's views. Although he refers to relativism frequently and in a number of different ways, Mr. Destler seems primarily to be concerned with what he calls "an exclusive presentist relativism." This concept of relativism, Mr. Destler seems to say, is one which holds that past historical events and present knowledge of those events are one and the same, a position which few historians and fewer philosophers would be foolish enough to defend.

Dewey's philosophical position is grounded in the principle of organic continuity. His relativism is not temporal; it is logical. The distinctions he makes between the separate elements making up the continuum are logical connections and not temporal separations. Dewey's relativism provides a basis for continuous testing of the validity of historical facts and processes. Like the field theory of the physicist, it is the philosopher's effort to gain contextual meaning, and an enlarging perspective. Dewey does not argue that the facts of history comprise a set of symbols in the historian's mind. To do so would be to deny his theory of knowledge, his logic, and his pragmatism. He is of course aware of the historian's biases, but it is to achieve greater objectivity, not to subvert it, that he cautions us to be aware of them.

John Dewey's work throughout his life has been to relate knowledge to the

solution of human problems. The problems occur in the present. He argues therefore (a) that historical knowledge is most useful when it gives us perspective, and insight into our present situation, (b) that history is always written from a present point of view, and (c) that all knowledge is contextual. Although these facts about John Dewey's position are generally known, it seems to us desirable that they should be restated in the present instance.

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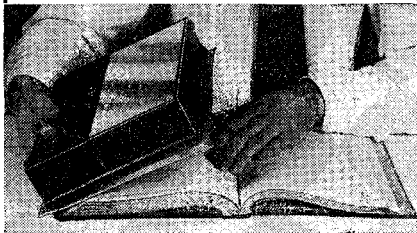
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